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MAXIMILIAN AND CHARLOTTE OF MEXICO

II



THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE OF MEXICO

MAXIMILIAN AND CHARLOTTE OF MEXICO

Egon Caesar Count Corti

Translated from the German by

CATHERINE ALISON PHILLIPS

VOLUME TWO

1929

NEW YORK & LONDON: ALFRED·A·KNOPF

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Published March, 1928
Second Printing April, 1929

F
1233
M145
Vol. 2

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED AS

Maximilian und Charlotte von Mexico

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VIENNA

19564

9-19-11 3.80 Rat. Bur.

MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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MAXIMILIAN AND CHARLOTTE OF MEXICO

CHAPTER VII

EARLY DAYS IN MEXICO, 1864-5

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THE YOUNG EMPEROR HAD RECOVERED FROM HIS ATtack of weakness. Once more the delight in creation was stirring in him, that joy in the new sphere of activity opening out to him, which, combined with his discontent at the condition of his own country, the unpleasantnesses connected with his position as commander of the navy, and the lustre of a crown, led him to pursue the Mexican affair so zealously. Among Maximilian's most prominent characteristics were his chivalry, innate high-mindedness, and idealism, which sprang from a tender heart. In spite of all his human weaknesses he was quite sincere and free from hypocrisy in representing to himself in the most radiant colours the task of leading an oppressed people to happiness. Nor was he uninfluenced by the encouragement of his wife, who saw everything in the rosiest light. So once again he faced the future in high spirits.

All depression had disappeared when, on April 18, 1864, the *Novara* sailed into the harbour of Cività Vecchia, amid the thunder of cannon from the war-ships lying at anchor there. From thence the new Emperor intended to go to Rome and ask the blessing of the Pope on his great work. He was filled with that glowing fervour which is the glorious attribute of every creator, and from which alone can be drawn the strength for all that is great and beautiful. Rarely has a man been so filled with the good intent to give disinterestedly of his best as the young Emperor on his journey to the distant land of which he was about to assume the government.

His reception in Rome was impressive. The Eternal City, then still occupied by the French troops, had donned its most festal array. The French soldiers had received instructions from Napoleon to give the new sovereign a splendid reception, on account of his close connexion with their supreme war-

lord. The papal troops vied with the French in acclaiming him and receiving him magnificently. For the two sovereigns expected great things of the new monarch, who was going to Mexico only by their grace and favour. One of them was seeking deliverance from the Mexican labyrinth in which he had become involved, the other a complete reinstatement of the Church in its full spiritual and material power, which had been so severely shaken by the revolutionary events of recent years, and especially by the anti-clerical laws of President Juarez.

After all, beyond vague phrases Maximilian had no trustworthy data as to how the Church would support his sovereignty in Mexico. In October 1863 the Pope had returned an evasive answer to the request for the nomination of a nuncio.[1]

Napoleon III's original advice had been the only sound one: namely, to settle all complications affecting Church affairs before accepting the crown and leaving home. But when the enormous difficulty of the question became patent, as a result of the clash between Bishop Labastida and the Council of Regency in Mexico, and Napoleon began to fear that the Archduke would withdraw altogether, he retracted this advice and recommended the exact opposite. And now Max must if possible be prevented from discussing the matter in Rome, and especially from broaching the subject of the Church property, for the Emperor of the French feared that it, too, might endanger his plans. This was the third great blunder, the third heavy burden which the young Emperor had laid upon his future Government from the outset, the first two being: the departure from the prudent conditions originally laid down, and the assumption of too onerous financial obligations.

No advantage was taken of this opportunity for coming to a clear understanding with the Church in Rome. All that was done was to ask for a "capable nuncio with reasonable principles," with whom everything would be settled later. The Emperor may have felt dark forebodings as to the consequences of this negligence, when, immediately before giving him the Holy Communion, the Pope admonished him that, though the rights of nations are great and must be satisfied, those of

[1] Pope Pius IX to the Archduke Ferdinand Max, October 6, 1863. V. N. A.

the Church are even greater and holier. This again was only a hint; the Emperor shortly afterwards responded with another, giving the Holy See to understand that, while steadily fulfilling his duties as a good Christian, he was conscious that he was the head of the State, whose interests he had likewise to protect.[2] Once more they were careful not to come to the point; a clear and frank explanation, the one thing which might have helped, was avoided.

But the receptions and festivities which followed the Church festival, the rejoicing in the streets, the brilliant reception at the splendid Palazzo Marescotti, where Gutierrez entertained his victims sumptuously, contributed towards this result. Maximilian was not overfond of such things, but the novel delight of enjoying imperial honours produced its effect, and the Empress was radiant with happiness at his side. But sceptics were not lacking. A contemporary,[3] who was present in Rome during these days, observed ironically that the French knew very well what they were doing in rigorously closing the streets and guarding the Emperor's lodging, for they would not find anyone else to accept the crown of Mexico in a hurry.

But the Emperor and Empress's happy mood was calculated to help them even through great trials, and of these there was no lack. On April 4 the House of Representatives at Washington unanimously adopted a resolution declaring itself entirely opposed to the recognition of a monarchy set up on the ruins of a republican Government, under the auspices of no matter what European Government this might take place. Seward hastened to notify the American Minister in Mexico that this was the "unanimous sentiment" of the people of the United States.[4] Relying upon the War of Secession within the Union, Europe had been too neglectful of the sentiments and wishes of this powerful State. The war was drawing to its close, and a stern revenge was bound to follow. The slight

[2] J. Velazquez de León, Secretary of State, to M. Murphy, Mexican Minister in Vienna, written on board the *Novara*, April 22, 1864. V. N. A.

[3] Carl Leopold Müller: *Ein Künstlerleben in Briefen, Bildern und Dokumenten* (Vienna, 1922), p. 40.

[4] See also Comte Émile de Kératry: *L'Empereur Maximilien, son élévation et sa chute* (Leipzig, 1867), p. 65.

implied in Europe's attitude was quite enough to arouse wrath and bitterness in the United States and these were bound to find a vent sooner or later, especially as the rage of the Americans was more or less impotent for the moment. This was the fourth heavy burden under which the Mexican monarchy started its existence, as was quite obvious to men of independent judgment, such as Rechberg, even as early as the new Emperor's visit to Rome. Count Rechberg was given a just idea of the situation by the minister in Washington, and Count Giorgi [5] also sent word that the Revolution must not be considered a dead letter, since it contained the quintessence of the Monroe Doctrine, which in the eyes of every North American appeared to be "a revealed truth (*une révélation de l'évangile*)."

Napoleon was also well-informed about sentiment in Washington, but he was careful not to draw the Archduke's attention to these dangers too closely. On the other hand, even he did not dare to use clear and unambiguous language in Washington. His object was to soothe the United States Government with phrases and then do as he liked behind their backs. This was all the more dangerous since Grant had become commander-in-chief of all the Northern troops and begun to unify the command with rare skill.

There was great opposition even among the European immigrants settled in Mexico, some of whom inspired but little confidence, and it was an unpleasant shock to the new Emperor to receive an anonymous threatening letter from a former Austrian subject in Mexico who hated the Habsburgs.[6] It ran as follows: "Mexico has been proclaimed an empire with you as Emperor, a piece of impudence of which none but a Louis Napoleon could be capable. . . . I have a trusty gun and a steady arm, and I pledge my honour that as soon as you venture to set foot upon American soil as a usurper, you shall have proof of this. Only come and you are mine to a certainty."

The Emperor Napoleon was, however, very glad to know that Maximilian, who was to get him out of the Mexican

[5] Count Giorgi to Count Rechberg, Washington, April 18, 1864. V. N. A.

[6] Letter without signature and date. V. N. A.

imbroglio, had now really started. He wrote with satisfaction to the Emperor Francis Joseph [7] that he was delighted at the favourable solution of the question of renunciation, and had good hopes for the stability of the empire that his brother was to set up in the centre of the American continent, thus rendering an enormous service to both worlds, while at the same time winning fresh renown for the house of Habsburg and drawing closer the bonds which united the Emperors of Austria and France. There was of course no allusion in the letter to the fact that Maximilian was to deliver Napoleon from the impasse in which he found himself.

The Emperor Francis Joseph was also relieved on the whole. He had done his duty. He had advised his brother neither for nor against it, but had had urgent warnings conveyed to him through his Minister for Foreign Affairs. Maximilian had persisted in his desire. Even if Francis Joseph had wished, it would scarcely have been in his power to prevent his brother from carrying out his purpose; it was only in matters affecting the destiny of the monarchy entrusted to his care that he was inflexible. The Emperor had composed a draft letter to Napoleon, or, rather, had caused one to be composed,[8] expressing his anxiety in the event of his brother's refusing his renunciation, and so being compelled to abandon the Mexican project. It was not right, ran this draft letter, that one of the nearest heirs to the throne should take up his residence in the other hemisphere before the question of the succession was settled, for history taught us that few national calamities were to be compared to those arising from a quarrel over the succession, and the irreparable disorders attendant upon a long vacancy of the throne. But now all was settled. Maximilian had consented to the renunciation and had already started upon his journey, so that Francis Joseph was able to write to Napoleon [9] that in giving his permission to his brother to devote his person

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[7] Napoleon III to the Emperor Francis Joseph, April 25, 1864; original in V. N. A.

[8] Draft letter from the Emperor Francis Joseph to Napoleon III, March 27, 1864. V. N. A.

[9] The Emperor Francis Joseph to Napoleon III, April 11, 1864; draft in V. N. A.

and future to a project in which Napoleon was so much interested, he had also desired to strengthen his relations with the Emperor of the French.

As he continued his voyage from Rome past the coasts of Spain and Gibraltar, a little surprise was in store for the Emperor Max. As a sort of compensation for the fact that her uncle Leopold of Belgium had obtained so little for his children from her Government, Queen Victoria had so far recognized the *fait accompli* of Ferdinand Max's acceptance of the throne as to give orders to her forces both by land and sea to salute the standard of the new ruler of Mexico with imperial honours wherever it might appear within the sphere of British sovereignty.

Spain and Portugal followed suit. And so it happened that in all the ports of these three States, though politically they were holding aloof, cannon thundered from the forts and warships wherever the *Novara* entered flying the imperial standard. Maximilian was vastly delighted, for he saw in this, not what it really was — namely, a personal attention from the Queen, intended also to convey a gentle apology for the attitude of the British Government — but a concession on the part of the Government, which had so far been hostile to his cause, and a good omen for the guarantees and co-operation which might perhaps be obtainable in future.

The more the Emperor regained his self-possession, the more he began to regret that, through the renunciation which had been extorted from him, he had been deprived of his position as an heir to the throne of the Habsburgs, and of other rights and privileges appertaining to him in virtue of his birth. In spite of all his prospects for the future in distant Mexico, he could not still the gnawing regret that renunciation of a right which was his in the eyes of both God and man had been wrung from him at the last moment, and only by duress.

The more the young Emperor and Empress thought this over, the greater was their indignation, the more they considered that the King of the Belgians was in the right, and the more conscious they became of the compulsion under which they had acted. These feelings had to find some sort of outlet,

and the result was a document which declared the renunciation to have been extorted by compulsion and hence to be null and void, and entered a formal protest against it.[10]

The Empress Charlotte, mindful of the counsels and admonitions of King Leopold, was the motive force in composing this document, and it was she who drew it up and copied it out in her own hand.

"We were made to sign this act," ran the document, "without having previously read it, and subject to the most notorious moral pressure (*pression*) brought to bear up to the last moment and by all possible means, a pressure admitted and established by a number of exalted personages in Austria, France, Belgium, and Mexico, and to exert which advantage was taken of the complicated situation prevailing at that time between France, Austria, and ourselves. . . . We declare upon oath that we had never read the document, nor heard it read. . . . Should the occasion arise, we solemnly protest as from today against this attempted usurpation."

Maximilian and his wife hoped that this protest would find supporters among the great powers and the representatives of the people in the Austrian Reichsrat, whose rights had been infringed by the failure to consult them in the matter. "We entrust the protection of our illegally infringed rights," continued the act of protest, "to the peoples united under the Imperial Crown of Habsburg-Lorraine, whose provincial diets alone had the right, in conjunction with us, of effecting changes in the fundamental laws of the Pragmatic Sanction — and who are bound to be outraged at any illegal encroachment upon their rights, which we hold sacred." In conclusion the document stated that Ferdinand Max had never intended to unite the two crowns of Austria and Mexico.

Three copies of the act were drawn up and signed by the Emperor and Empress. A declaration was appended, signed by the counsellor of state T. Eloin, the adviser attached to Maximilian by His Belgian Majesty, and S. Schertzenlechner,

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[10] Protest against the renunciation of the succession to the Austrian throne, drawn up on board the frigate *Novara* on May 25, 1864; in the Empress's handwriting. V. N. A.

in which they both asserted that they recognized and confirmed the fact of "the moral pressure brought to bear upon His Majesty in order to obtain his signature."

This document, one copy of which was deposited in the Archives in Mexico, and two sealed copies in the Legation in Vienna — the latter to be handed over, should the necessity arise, to the provincial diets and the Governments to which Mexican representatives had been accredited — must be regarded as open to objection in many respects. The Emperor and Empress affirmed upon oath that they had never read the deed of renunciation and never even heard it read. This might be true of the actual text, but the Emperor Francis Joseph had sent his brother a copy,[11] and the Emperor and Rechberg had repeatedly discussed with him the various claims contained in it, so that Maximilian could have abstained from reading it and listening to the discussions of its contents only of set purpose. But in this case the Emperor Francis Joseph was in no way to blame, and Maximilian had merely remained true to his old tactics of reading only what he was willing to hear and simply ignoring the rest. On the other hand, it must be conceded to the Emperor and Empress of Mexico that they had in a certain sense had the demand for renunciation sprung upon them at the last moment; for there had been time to discuss the matter for years past, and Francis Joseph ought to have mentioned it to his brother as early as their meeting in Venice. In any case Maximilian was not acting rightly in first signing the document and afterwards trying to turn the Austrian people against their sovereign. It is true that, for the time being, everything was to be kept a secret, but the Austrian Government seems to have got wind of it in advance. It was highly imprudent to let men like Eloin and Schertzenlechner into the secret of such a compromising document. But the Archduke had been carried away by his regret at having given his signature, and King Leopold's advice and Charlotte's influence had decided him. Ferdinand Max's mind never ceased to be troubled by the signature extorted from him at Miramar. This was also the cause of the strained relations which existed

[11] See his letter of March 22, 1864.

between him and his imperial brother, and his home in general, throughout the whole of his reign in Mexico. And so another grave complication was added to a situation which was already difficult enough.

For the rest, the Emperor and Empress took advantage of the leisure of the voyage, which lasted almost six weeks, to take such preliminary measures, both public and private, as could be settled before they reached the country. Ferdinand Max drew up instructions for his secretariate,[12] in which he enjoined upon each of its members the outstanding qualities of discretion, tact, accuracy, caution, and prudence in their intercourse with the officials of the Empire. Every Sunday after mass all Mexicans were to have the right of being received in audience by their Emperor. The imperial chancery was to enter into such relations with the home and foreign press as should enable it in case of need to direct public opinion by means of inspired articles. It was to keep in touch with the secret police, and send out secret agents in order to acquaint itself with the general state of opinion. These were obviously very delicate tasks, demanding men equipped by their antecedents and training with the requisite tact and due sentiment of loyalty. But the Emperor had no such men about him.

To the great disappointment of Schertzenlechner, the first to be appointed head of the imperial civil cabinet was the Belgian Eloin, a civil engineer by profession, to whom chance had afforded an opportunity of giving proofs of his all-round usefulness at the Belgian Court. King Leopold had particularly recommended him to his son-in-law, and it was for this reason that the young Emperor at once entrusted him with such an important position. Schertzenlechner regarded this appointment with envy and was, moreover, by no means inclined to give up the influential position in the Emperor's personal entourage of which he had laid the foundations at

[12] Autograph notice of the Emperor Maximilian with the note: "On board the *Novara*, April 27, 1864." [The two sections of the imperial secretariate or chancery are referred to in this translation as his civil cabinet (*Zivilkabinett*) and military cabinet (*Militärkabinett*) respectively, to distinguish them from the military and civil secretariates by which they were afterwards replaced (see p. 574 below). — *Translator.*]

Miramar. Hence from the very beginning a latent rivalry sprang up between these two confidential servants of the Emperor. Many of Maximilian's arrangements were modelled on those of the Austrian Court. But Maximilian set the stamp of his liberal opinions even on these outward forms, intending by this means to give evidence of a form of sovereignty approaching as closely as possible to the ideal of a monarchical state.

But Maximilian was firmly convinced that the etiquette and court ceremonial in force at the Austrian Court at home were absolutely necessary to preserve his imperial prestige. While still on board the *Novara,* he therefore appointed a Master of the Ceremonies and a Lord Chamberlain, and began to draw up the court ceremonial which he afterwards completed in Mexico, and which comprised a volume of no less than six hundred printed pages, with a number of plans and illustrations.[13]

The voyage, which took place in the most perfect weather, without any untoward occurrences, was spent in such employments as these. At last, on May 28, the *Novara* appeared in the roads off Vera Cruz and was greeted with the thunder of cannon from the Fort of San Juan de Ulloa and all the warships at anchor in the harbour. In accordance with Almonte's advice — for he had warned them emphatically against Vera Cruz — they all stayed on board at first, especially as Almonte, who had not expected the *Novara* on that day, had not yet arrived. It was not till the evening that he reached Vera Cruz, and at once went on board to welcome his sovereign. Vera Cruz remained cold; its population, composed for the most part of Liberal elements and utterly opposed to the policy of intervention, desired to manifest its sentiments by entirely ignoring the Emperor's arrival. Next day, early in the morning, the Emperor and Empress drove nervously through the town to the station. The streets were empty and deserted, no sort of festivities had been arranged for the reception, the Emperor was depressed and the Empress almost in tears. It was not a promising beginning.

[13] Several copies are to be found in the Library of the Family Trust at Vienna.

Almonte exerted himself to remove these first impressions; but he was personally disturbed by the appointment of Grand Marshal and Minister of the Imperial Household conferred upon him as a distinction. What was the meaning of this office? Was it really what the ambitious general had hoped for? He was all too soon to realize that it was not so, and that his new office was merely a means of side-tracking him. For Almonte belonged to the rigidly Conservative party which Maximilian knew to be in ill repute everywhere as "ultra-reactionary." And Maximilian did not want to govern through a single party, though it was one party alone which had raised him to the throne. He desired to unite and reconcile all parties, to rise superior to them all, and, above all, not to inaugurate his reign under absolutist and ultra-clerical auspices worthy of the Middle Ages.

The reception of the Emperor and Empress became warmer as they penetrated into the interior and arrived at places on the high-road from Vera Cruz to Mexico City which were inhabited by a more wealthy and Conservative population.

They were particularly struck by the sharp contrast between town and country, the direct juxtaposition of the most refined metropolitan civilization with the Indian population of the country districts, who stood upon the lowest level of civilization. "In the capital, Mexico City, one feels almost as if one were in Europe," wrote the Empress Charlotte to the Empress Eugénie.[14] "Half an hour away one may fall into an ambush and be attacked by robbers." On the first day of their journey, on the way from Tejería to Córdoba, things looked very dubious (*"louche"*), and she would not have been at all surprised if Juarez had suddenly appeared with a few hundred *guerrilleros*. The appalling condition of the roads made things worse. At that time the railway ran only a very short way inland, after which the Emperor and Empress and their suite of some hundred persons had to continue their journey in the cumbersome, heavy mail-coaches. Beside the

[14] The Empress Charlotte to the Empress Eugénie, Mexico City, June 18, 1864. Copy in Charlotte's own hand in V. N. A.



VERA CRUZ

imperial coach rode the commandant of the escort, Colonel Don Miguel Lopez, the man who a few years later was to betray the Emperor to his bitterest enemies.

These coaches were so hard to drive that the contractors [15] used to promise a hundred pesos to every driver who performed his service for a month on end during the rainy season without upsetting his coach. But since the foundation of the company the premium had never had to be paid. On this occasion, too, a regrettable incident occurred. In the course of a rain-storm, almost amounting to a cloud-burst, which took place at seven in the evening in the middle of a dense forest beside the river Chiquihuite, a wheel of the coach in which the Emperor and Empress were driving broke. They had to change into a "republican" coach, and it was not till two o'clock in the morning that they reached Córdoba. The Mexicans made the best apologies they could, and the Emperor and Empress assured them that it did not matter. But Charlotte wrote to Eugénie [16] that they needed all their "youth and good humour to escape being crippled with stiffness or breaking a rib." Between Canada and Palmar the road was so abominable that one of the coaches upset; among its six passengers was the newly-appointed Minister-President of the Empire, Velazquez de León, who only succeeded in extricating himself by getting out of the window.

The rest of the journey to a certain extent made up for the unpleasantnesses which they had so far experienced. The French garrison at Puebla, under General Brincourt, and the Conservative party had prepared a cordial and festive reception. The Emperor and Empress were struck by the fact that outside the bigger towns there was hardly a white man to be seen. In the Indian villages through which the imperial cortège drove, the people crowded round to see the fair-haired prince from the east, who, in accordance with their ancient traditions, had now really come to restore peace, liberty, and happiness to their race, so grievously oppressed by the white

[15] See Schmit von Tavera, op. cit., I. 246.

[16] Also in the Empress Charlotte's letter to the Empress Eugénie of June 18, 1864.

man. Shouts of rejoicing, triumphal arches, salvoes of artillery, crowded receptions — though these were often to be attributed to popular curiosity — the sumptuous cavalcades of the Mexican Conservatives, who rode out on horseback from all the larger towns to meet the Emperor, succeeded in producing the effect of a genuinely cordial reception. Perhaps, too, the sight of the youthful Emperor, who knew how to exert his personal charm to the best advantage, and of the fascinatingly lovely Empress, aroused the idea even in the hearts of sceptics and those who were not adherents of the Conservative party that perhaps, after all, what was happening was for the best, and that the princes who had just arrived would really succeed in bringing the country prosperity, wealth, and power. At every considerable place through which he passed Maximilian gave thanks in Spanish — in which he had made great progress during the voyage — for the reception prepared for him, but he committed the error of mentioning the Emperor Napoleon and the gratitude due to him far too often, which alienated the people and wounded their vanity.

At Cholula the Emperor and Empress heard mass at the altar of an ancient Mexican temple formerly used for human sacrifice, where now stood a shrine of the Virgin. In order to appeal to the religious susceptibilities of the populace and pay fitting honour to the centre of national pilgrimage, the Emperor and Empress intended, before entering the capital, to visit the miraculous image of Our Blessed Lady of Guadalupe near by, which was venerated far and wide throughout Mexico.

The tradition was that in the year 1531, not long after Cortés's conquest of Mexico, a recent Indian convert to Christianity happened to be descending from the Sierra when suddenly he heard a sound like the glorious music of the spheres. Looking round in amazement, he saw a magnificent rainbow, in the midst of which, shrouded in a thin, transparent cloud, stood a beautiful woman, attired like one of the ladies at the court of the pagan emperor. This figure told the Indian that she was the Mother of God and that she wished a church to be built on the spot where he had seen her, and promised protec-

tion and help to all who should pray there. Five times the Indian saw the same apparition. All of a sudden he found the most glorious flowers growing on this spot, which was so arid that only thorns and thistles grew there; he wrapped them up in a cloth and intended to show them to the bishop as a proof of his words. When he opened the cloth, all those present fell upon their knees, for on it was imprinted the likeness of the Blessed Virgin, like the face of Christ upon St. Veronica's napkin.[17] Such was the legend of the origin of this miracle-working shrine.

When the Emperor and Empress left the sanctuary, a surprise awaited them. Hundreds of carriages full of richly attired Mexican ladies, escorted by a great cavalcade of gentlemen in black European costume and white gloves, had come out from the capital to meet them. And soon the French dignitaries appeared to welcome them, with General Bazaine and the French Minister, the Marquis de Montholon.

On June 12 followed the state entry into the capital. By intimidating all those holding other views, the Conservatives and the French managed to give it such an enthusiastic character that it might really have been taken for an outburst of genuine popular enthusiasm. But the absence of the representative of the United States was an ominous sign. As soon as Maximilian drew near the coast, instructions had been sent him to leave the country. It was highly significant that they should have met out at sea off Havana, the Emperor on his way to the country, the minister on his way from it.

The first impressions which the Emperor received of his new empire and the reception prepared for him were contradictory. In their letters and reports to Europe he and his wife naturally spoke above all of the enthusiasm with which they were greeted in the towns. But whatever efforts the French and the Mexican Conservatives might make to give the situation a favourable aspect, the true state of affairs in the country could not be entirely hidden. The Empress in particular scrutinized everything with the greatest attention. " From all that I have

[17] From Princess Agnes of Salm-Salm: *Zehn Jahre aus meinem Leben*, 1862–72 (Stuttgart, 1875), II. 44.

seen," she wrote to the Empress Eugénie,[18] "there is room for a monarchy in this country, and it meets the general requirements of the population, but none the less in the meantime this remains a gigantic experiment, for one has to struggle against the desert, the distance, the roads, and the most utter chaos. . . . Everything in this country calls for reconstruction; nothing is to be found, either physical or moral, but what Nature provides." Everybody, in her opinion, had first to be educated even in the smallest detail: the clergy, the people, everybody. Santa Anna, she said, must be held responsible for the general misfortunes and all the confusion in Mexico. For forty years past there had been a series of more or less ephemeral Governments, which were never more than minorities that had imposed themselves upon the people by force, and had never had any roots in the Indian population, the only one which worked and kept the State going.

"Things will go on here," wrote Charlotte to the Empress of the French, "if Your Majesties stand by us, since they must go on, and we mean them to go on; but it is an appalling task, for when a country has spent forty years of its existence in destroying all that it possessed in the way of resources and government, everything cannot be set right in a day. This does not alarm us, however; I merely state the fact. We have devoted ourselves to this task in full knowledge of what we were doing; and for my part, I repeat, I was only surprised at the roads. All the rest I found better than I had expected, rather than worse."

The Empress Charlotte proudly insisted that the people were tired of gold-laced generals, who understood nothing but fighting among themselves, and would value Maximilian's ways all the more since he had appeared in the country so naturally and unaffectedly, in simple civilian costume.

But in this Charlotte was mistaken. It had been expected in Mexico that the new Emperor would appear in pomp and splendour. It was only so that the Indian population in particu-

[18] The Empress Charlotte to the Empress Eugénie, Mexico, June 18, 1864; copy in Charlotte's writing. V. N. A.

lar could think of an Emperor, and when he arrived in simple travelling-costume, driving in a coach like anybody else, it caused disappointment in many quarters. The Emperor and Empress had yet to adapt themselves to a new situation, new customs, and new people.

The Emperor and Empress received their first news from Europe in the middle of June, after their arrival in Mexico City. A letter also arrived from King Leopold,[19] in which he advised his son-in-law to be careful how he employed foreigners, so as not to excite the jealousy of the natives, and furthermore to be prudent in his administration of the finances. It was obvious that they would be forced to rely far too much upon France. Perhaps, however, things would become a little easier. "At any rate, we must wait and see," wrote the King. "You are doing *such an enormous service to the Emperor and to France* that you have *an entire right* to claim *some services in return.*"

Two letters also arrived from Napoleon; one[20] in which he warmly recommended General Bazaine to the Emperor in his own best interests, and informed him that he had heard that, by all reports, waste and apathy prevailed in Mexico wherever the French officials did not exercise a close surveillance. It was absolutely necessary that Maximilian should not allow himself to be influenced by the Mexicans, who must necessarily be jealous of foreigners. This was practically the opposite of what King Leopold had advised. As regards the second point, however, Napoleon was in agreement with him. He also enjoined upon the new Emperor to do everything to introduce order and economy into the finances. The second communication[21] was accompanied by a protest from Santa Anna against his expulsion, with the note that Maximilian must now arrive at a decision upon such matters. The Emperor of the French also laid stress upon how much he was struck by

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[19] King Leopold to the Emperor Maximilian, Laeken, May 12, 1864; original in V. N. A.

[20] Napoleon to the Emperor Maximilian, Paris, April 29, 1864; original in V. N. A.

[21] The same to the same, Paris, May 15, 1864; original in V. N. A.

the stubborn intransigence of the Mexican clergy, and how they would probably continue to cause the new Emperor considerable difficulties in the future. Maximilian replied [22] that his difficulties were indeed very great, and that those caused by the clergy would certainly not be the least serious among them, but that, given prudence, firmness, and Napoleon's support, he still had faith in the future.

But Maximilian saw that for the present there could be no question of the constitutional ideas which he had intended for Mexico while still in Europe. He was confirmed in this, not only by his own observation, but also by a fresh letter from his father-in-law, by whose political sagacity he set great store, in spite of his sarcastic youthful criticisms, and whose advice he followed faithfully from beginning to end.

"Above all things," wrote King Leopold,[23] "care must be taken during the early days to avoid weakening the power of the executive Government. Constitutional forms cannot be adopted till later, for they involve delays, since one has first to cope with difficulties oneself and afterwards with those which arise in any political assembly."

The Emperor Maximilian assented to this. "Things are going well with us, thank God," he replied,[24] "and we are getting more and more used to conditions out here; there is indeed an extraordinary amount of work, but one does it gladly, since one has an aim in view and meets with a grateful response. For the time being, there can be no question of constitutional experiments; the full authority must remain in the hands of the Government until the country is really pacified. The good people must first learn to obey. I try to go quietly ahead and avoid all precipitate action. Peace is what impresses people most, and they are extraordinarily surprised that Charlotte and I take things so naturally, and live as if we had already been here ten years. Extraordinary measures are of no use here; they may do for Italians, but the only thing that

[22] The Emperor Maximilian to Napoleon III, June 18, 1864; draft in V. N. A.
[23] King Leopold to the Emperor Maximilian, Laeken, May 28, 1864; original in V. N. A.
[24] The Emperor Maximilian to King Leopold, Mexico, July 10, 1864; draft in V. N. A.

impresses them here is cool calm, combined with great courtesy and imperturbable firmness."

At the same time the Emperor Maximilian received Hidalgo's first communication from Paris,[25] reporting that subscriptions to the loan were going on swimmingly. As the Duke of Brabant,[26] who was then staying in Paris, happened to pass with Napoleon the office where subscriptions were received, he said, pointing to the crowd, that there must be a funeral going on. "Oh no," Napoleon replied, "it is not a funeral, it is a birth; extremes meet." This little anecdote of Hidalgo's was intended to show Maximilian that the loan was going well. But this was by no means the case. Subscriptions were hanging fire, for the resolution of the North American Congress, combined with Maximilian's rejection of the project for a national bank in Mexico, to be founded by European financiers, had now become known in Paris and produced a bad effect.

The news of the Emperor's enthusiastic reception — for nothing was said about Vera Cruz — aroused the greatest joy in Paris. Hidalgo wrote the Emperor a letter of triumph, full of sounding phrases. His pride now knew no bounds, for the news of Maximilian's arrival had been awaited with agonized suspense by the Empress Eugénie and high society in Paris, and the reports of his enthusiastic reception had removed a load from the minds of the Emperor and Empress of the French. Hidalgo, who was well aware that in Paris the responsibility for the expedition was attributed to the Empress Eugénie, whom he had advised, now exulted at having directed her in the right path. He now went about telling everybody that many people who had been absolutely opposed to the Mexican expedition had come to him and apologized for having been in the wrong. To crown all, when King Leopold visited Napoleon III on his way back from Vichy, he sent for Hidalgo and told him that he had heard very good accounts of him, adding: "I am credited with a certain influence in Europe.

[25] Hidalgo to the Emperor Maximilian; private letter from Paris, April 31, 1864. V. N. A.

[26] Afterwards Leopold II, King of the Belgians.

If at any time my support is necessary to you, come to me and keep me informed of what you personally consider important. I say this to you as man to man." Hidalgo took all this personally; it never occurred to him that the King was only doing it in the interest of his children.

Gutierrez also wrote the Empress a letter [27] so flattering as to overstep all the bounds of good taste, saying that all reports from Mexico told of a perfect delirium of joy at the arrival of Their Majesties. These outbreaks of enthusiasm on the part of the two persons who must be held primarily responsible for the whole adventure revealed their anxiety and the suspense with which they had looked forward to the arrival of the Emperor and Empress in Mexico. They were indeed quite surprised that, in spite of their expectations, all had gone so well.

The Emperor Maximilian at once began to develop a new political tendency in the capital and establish it in accordance with his prearranged plan. Sir Charles Wyke's advice and his opinion that a monarchy could find support only from the moderate Liberals (*moderados*) were the starting-point of his policy. By this means the young Emperor thought he would be able in time to make an end of party hatred and win over all parties — even Juarez — to co-operate with him in constructing the new edifice of state. He revealed this intention in particular by appointing the lawyer F. Ramirez, a moderate Liberal, whose position lay nearer to the Juaristas than to the Conservatives, as Minister for Foreign Affairs. Ramirez had declined to become a member of the junta which had been nominated for the election of Maximilian, and had so far taken up a very sceptical attitude towards the monarchical ideas propagated by the party of intervention. His appointment was also significant in other respects. Arroyo, the Under-Secretary of State, formerly Minister for Foreign Affairs, had during the regency, under pressure from the French Minister, the Marquis de Montholon, concluded with him, in collaboration with Almonte, the convention desired by Napoleon with regard to the mining rights in Sonora, a proceeding which

[27] Gutierrez to the Empress Charlotte, Paris, July 31, 1864. V. N. A.

Maximilian disapproved, for he saw in it the first step towards the cession of this province to France. Thus Arroyo's dismissal was also a hit at France; it made an enemy of the Marquis de Montholon, and showed from the very beginning that the new Emperor was determined to act energetically even towards Paris, when the welfare of his country demanded it.

In other matters, too, Maximilian did everything which he thought might win over the Mexican people, and flattered their vanity whenever he could. When a desire was expressed in the capital to erect a marble arch in honour of the Empress, the Emperor requested that instead of this they would set up a monument to the triumph of Mexican independence over Spanish domination. He proclaimed an amnesty for political offences, and recommended all prefects to show a conciliatory spirit to the political opponents of the monarchy. Though he felt a certain embarrassment at speaking before a large audience, especially in a language which he had only just learnt, he did not omit to deliver addresses wherever he arrived, proclaiming his goodwill and his intention of putting an end to the party regime. He also decided not to impose any official censorship upon the press at first, so as to see how far the journalists could be relied upon to express the country's wishes.[28] It was his desire, as he wrote to Velazquez on one occasion,[29] to be before all things a Mexican and to place the interests of his people above all others.

Maximilian did not, however, reckon with the fact that the leaders of political parties in Mexico, as elsewhere, think more of party interests, and often of their personal advantage, than of the welfare of their country. The Conservatives, who considered that Maximilian was only Emperor by their grace and favour, were astonished to see Almonte shelved in a high office about the Court, and the appointment of Ramirez, and others who did not belong to their clique, to influential positions in the State. The Liberals observed the Emperor's unexpected proceedings distrustfully. A few allowed themselves to

[28] Decree of August 4, 1864.

[29] The Emperor Maximilian to Velazquez de León, September 15, 1864; draft in V. N. A.

be won over, but the great majority remained hostile, or else held aloof.

The Emperor soon saw that matters were far from being as favourable as they had tried to represent to him in Paris. He at once recognized that the country was far from pacified; he heard that the French troops and those of the Mexican troops which were faithful to the Emperor were fighting bands of Juaristas in the north and west of the country. He also heard that President Juarez was still in occupation of the port of Matamoros, and was drawing a big revenue from the customs there. And lastly he learnt that wide regions in the south of the country were still entirely in the hands of the republicans. What is more, he soon found out the disheartening financial condition of the country and the difficulty of collecting the taxes regularly, owing to the prevailing disorder. A finance ministry composed of Mexicans only was to change all this.

Maximilian first instituted commissions for the various branches of the administration, charged with inquiring into the necessary reforms. He could not yet take in hand the urgent ecclesiastical question, for the " nuncio with reasonable views " whom he had asked for in Rome had still not arrived.

The Emperor had also to see to the completion of his own palace. There was in the first place the Government House [*Palacio Nacional*] in Mexico City, a gigantic, two-storied building, which was now to become the imperial residence, though it was more like a fortified barracks. Before the Emperor's arrival some necessary improvements had been hastily started, but in spite of considerable expenditure, it had been impossible in so short a time to make up for the state of utter neglect into which the palace had fallen. The apartments intended for the Emperor and Empress were uncomfortably and tastelessly furnished in the style of a European hotel, and were not even free from vermin. During the first night they spent in Mexico City the Emperor and Empress had even to leave their beds in a hurry and improvise fresh quarters for the night; the Emperor is said to have spent the first night on a billiard-table.

As the building of Miramar had already shown, Maximilian

loved a fine house, built according to his own ideas. There was, indeed, nothing of any artistic merit to be done with the palace in Mexico City, but it was always possible to effect structural alterations and improvements. These were at once set on foot.

It was otherwise with the gloriously situated country residence of Chapultepec, not far from Mexico, built between 1783 and 1785 for the Spanish Viceroy on the very spot where Montezuma's palace had once stood. The castle, sternly and massively built with a view to defence, is situated among ancient cypresses, in whose shadow Montezuma once walked, and the size of which can hardly be imagined. The trunks of some of them measure from forty to fifty feet in girth, and tower up to a height of from a hundred and sixty to two hundred feet. Flowering creepers twine among the trees, and the air is gay with humming-birds and butterflies and filled with a heavenly fragrance. From the palace windows one has a wide and magnificent view of mighty volcanoes, Popocatapetl and Iztaccihuatl, and other giant mountains covered with eternal snows. *Popocatapetl* may be translated "Woman in White." According to the Mexican legend, the mountains were once mighty giants; one day one of them killed his wife and laid her upon the Sierra Nevada, the lines of which still represent the giant outlines of a recumbent female body carved in dazzling white marble.

The Emperor was very sensitive to natural beauty and was delighted with Chapultepec; the Empress was equally so; in fact, as the Countess Paula Kollonitz relates,[30] she was "enchanted with everything." She enjoyed the glamour of her new position to the full and was as yet unconscious of its darker side. Maximilian had hardly set eyes upon Chapultepec when he made up his mind to occupy the castle. It was to be entirely reconstructed in accordance with his own plans, but a wing had to be got ready and furnished in a hurry, and the Emperor and Empress, regardless of comfort, moved into it a week after their arrival in Mexico. The treasurer, Jakob von Kuhacsevich, a trusted member of the household from

[30] The Countess Paula Kollonitz: *Eine Reise nach Mexiko im Jahre 1864* (Vienna, 1867).

Miramar, through whose hands passed all the building accounts, felt some misgivings. "The building operations in the palace in Mexico and at Chapultepec," he wrote to the wife of Radonetz,[31] the prefect of the palace of Miramar, who had been left at home, "quite frighten one. The Emperor's passion is well known! I should at least have waited till the honeymoon was over, for one cannot yet say how this marriage[32] will turn out."

The Emperor had hardly begun to take his first timid steps in his new empire, when he at once met with criticism on all hands, in his immediate entourage no less than among his opponents. He saw that everything was not as it should be in Mexico, but he would not admit it, particularly to those in Europe. All those who had warned him were to be taught that they had been in the wrong. He desired, too, to make it plain to the imperial family of Austria, who had seen him depart with heavy hearts, that they had been mistaken in their anxieties. And so Maximilian's letters and reports to Vienna were in an optimistic strain. Those who read them might suppose that Mexico was an Eden, a garden of paradise, in which nothing but peace and happiness prevailed, in contrast with Europe, which was tainted with every kind of political and social complication. Moreover, his first letters to his younger brother, the Archduke Karl Ludwig, bore witness to the delight Maximilian felt at the beginning of his reign in his work and in all the novelty.

"You may well imagine, dear brother," he wrote on one occasion,[33] "that I am overwhelmed with work of every sort; but one is glad to work when one has an aim in view, and looks for gratitude, and hopes to be useful to one's fellow men. I found the country far better than I expected, the calumnies of the European press untrue, and the people far more advanced than is supposed at home. Our reception everywhere was cordial and sincere, free from all pretence and from that

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[31] Kuhacsevich to Frau von Radonetz, August 9, 1864. V. N. A.

[32] Between Maximilian and Mexico.

[33] The Emperor Maximilian to the Archduke Karl Ludwig, July 10, 1864; draft in V. N. A.



THE PALACE OF CHAPULTEPEC



THE THOUSAND-YEAR-OLD TREES
IN THE PARK OF CHAPULTEPEC

nauseating official servility which one very often finds in Europe on such occasions. The country is very beautiful, tropically luxuriant in the coast lands, and quite European in character on the high plateau; the surroundings of the capital have quite the character of our unforgettable Lombardy, glorious pastures, fine trees, and abundance of water. We live by turns in the vast *Palais nacional* in the city, an old and venerable building with eleven hundred windows, and at Chapultepec, the Schönbrunn of Mexico, a fascinating country residence on a basalt crag, surrounded by Montezuma's famous giant trees, and offering a prospect the like of which for beauty I have seen perhaps only at Sorrento. At the beginning of October we shall probably move to Orizaba, a lovely place where the warm-hearted inhabitants are building us a villa, on their own initiative, at one of the loveliest spots in this paradise."

What had attracted Maximilian most was the delightful climate: glorious weather prevailed for days on end, with clear skies and sunshine, and rain regularly in the evening, which freshened the air and revived the lush green vegetation. "We still," he wrote to his brother in a subsequent letter,[34] "divide our time between town and country. We have installed ourselves simply but comfortably in both, so that we can go to and fro without packing and unpacking. At Chapultepec we are quite alone and very retired, and live even more quietly and simply than at Miramar. In town, moreover, we very seldom give dinners; we almost always have our meals alone and see nobody in the evenings; the serious character of the Mexicans, a quality which is much to my liking, demands this, thank God, and leaves me plenty of time for my real work. The so-called entertainments of Europe, such as evening receptions, the gossip of tea-parties, etc., etc., of hideous memory, are quite unknown here, and we shall take good care not to introduce them. The Mexican's only enjoyment is to ride about his beautiful country on his fine horse and go to the theatre frequently; I too naturally treat myself to the

[34] The Emperor Maximilian to the Archduke Karl Ludwig, July 26, 1864; draft in V. N. A.

latter. Moreover, there is excellent Italian opera at the chief theatre, one of the finest in the world. Balls are also rare, but when they do take place they are very fine and animated, and the elegant and rich society of this place is passionately fond of the national dance, which is the most fascinating one could see, and which the Countess Melanie Zichy says she wants to introduce in Vienna. Charlotte has fourteen honorary ladies-in-waiting, who are on duty in turn week and week about, but whom one naturally hardly ever sees. Our almoner is the Bishop of Tamaulipas, an Indian and a former Franciscan, extraordinarily pious and clever. The stables are directed by Bombelles and fall into two sections, the European for town and ceremonial use, and the real national stables for country use. You would be much amused to see us in our Mexican equipage, a little, quite open carriage, as light as a feather, the famous Mexican state coachman on the box, with his gigantic white hat, his green velvet tunic, and full, white linen trousers, with his poncho of three colours round his shoulders, beside him a copper-coloured Indian lad in a similar costume, driving a team of six cream-coloured mules with zebra hoofs, two of them harnessed to the shaft, the other four harnessed in a row in front; an outrider on a cream-coloured horse, with rich silver-mounted Mexican harness; and the whole turn-out racing madly along as swift as an arrow."

So far the picture of the Emperor and Empress's life appeared very idyllic. Maximilian also laid stress upon his favourable impressions in a letter to the Empress Caroline Augusta, who had opposed his decision so vigorously. "We both," it ran,[35] "feel quite comfortable in our new position already. We trust in God and are very contented. We are helped on every side with touching affection. Neither Charlotte nor I wish ourselves back again."

And yet the serious side of life was already forcing itself upon their attention. Though Maximilian had promised to settle the burning question of the Church immediately after his arrival, he could not set about it, for the nuncio

[35] The Emperor Maximilian to the Empress Caroline Augusta of Austria, August 20, 1864. V. N. A.

had not yet arrived. The delay was already growing awkward. So he began to feel inclined to settle the question of the Church property without the collaboration of the papal Curia.

For the rest, his only difficulties were with the Ministry of Finance. According to the account given by the Emperor to Napoleon, the Mexicans at the head of it at last admitted their own incompetence. That suited Maximilian very well, for he now had a pretext for giving the Mexicans to understand that it was indispensable to appoint capable foreign experts to the most important offices. He therefore sent a request to Paris that Corta, the French deputy and financier, who wanted to leave Mexico at that time and in whose ability he had great confidence, should be transferred to his service.[36] But Corta did not want to stay in Mexico on any account, and kept trumping up excuses to justify his departure. These were the two chief anxieties of which Maximilian informed Napoleon. For the rest, he declared himself satisfied with the general state of the country. Negotiations had already been opened with the Juarista General Uraga; they were approaching a general pacification of the country, and only required the co-operation of the French squadron in freeing the harbours of Manzanillo, Mazatlán, Guaymas, etc., from the Juarista occupation. The disorganization was so great that everything had to be created afresh; the various commissions which were to prepare measures for this purpose were already sitting, but it was almost impossible to find qualified persons among the Mexicans, which made the task much heavier.

The settlement of the question of the Church property was awaited with the greatest impatience, but still the nuncio did not arrive. In order to shorten the period of suspense before his arrival and find a tolerable pretext for postponing the matter, the Emperor — who was, in any case, very fond of travelling, and would gladly have become acquainted with other parts of his vast empire — decided upon a considerable tour. He left his wife behind in the capital, entrusting her

[36] The Emperor Maximilian to Napoleon III, Mexico, August 9, 1864; draft in V. N. A.

with the regency, and on August 10 started on his journey. He was induced chiefly to visit such places as had a high percentage of Conservatives; moreover, wherever he went, the French and imperialist officials took measures to prevent the occurrence of hostile demonstrations. Forey's stern decrees, setting up French courts-martial for seditious offences, were still in force and exerted a terrorizing influence, so that the journey went off with none but pleasant impressions for Maximilian. The Emperor chiefly visited the regions north of the capital. On September 16, 1864 — the national festival — Maximilian was staying at Dolores Hidalgo, from which in 1810 the priest Hidalgo had sent out the first call to independence. At the time when this historic event took place, and at which celebrations start every year with the thunder of cannon and the pealing of bells — namely, at eleven o'clock at night — the Emperor made a speech from the window of Hidalgo's house. Such addresses were rather difficult for Maximilian: "You can imagine," he wrote to his brother,[37] "how embarrassed I was before a tightly packed, silent mass of people. It went off well, thank God, and the enthusiasm was indescribable."

On his journey through the country Maximilian looked at conditions through the eyes of a European, accustomed to strict order. He became convinced that "the whole administration must be placed upon a new footing," and the consequence was that during his journey he had to busy himself, to use his own nautical expression, with "laying up" a large number of personages belonging to the old regime. The Emperor was much pleased with his reception; at least he made himself out to be; and he could not resist writing his brother in Austria [38] a high-flown account of it, insinuating maliciously that his reception in the country was so extraordinarily kindly and cordial that he had never seen the like of it in Europe. At León two great balls were given in Maximilian's honour, at which he had occasion to admire the beauty and elegance of

[37] The Emperor Maximilian to the Archduke Karl Ludwig, September 21, 1864. V. N. A.
[38] Ibid.

Mexican women. They were the loveliest women he had ever seen since he was in Andalusia, he wrote to Vienna.

The accounts which Maximilian sent his brother towards the end of his journey are highly significant. He never fails to give a passing dig at conditions in Europe. "From León," he wrote,[39] "we are now travelling through the mountains to the turbulent Morelia, where the country is loveliest, intelligence liveliest, but blood hottest. The city of Morelia, again, is, like all capitals of departments, very large and of political and commercial importance. It is very Liberal, hence it is all the more important to visit it. In general the country is very advanced politically, far more so than many countries in Europe that have a high opinion of themselves. What we call in Europe 'mandarinism,' with all its absurdities and pathos, is quite unknown here; all the stiffness and trumpery with which we uselessly hamper ourselves in Europe, and shall continue to hamper ourselves for years, has long been got over here. I travel sometimes in my splendid English travelling-carriage, sometimes on horseback along mountain tracks. In spite of my contentment here, I often long for the lovely island of Lacroma; it is beyond a doubt the place I love most upon earth, where I spent the happiest hours of my life and knew nothing but pure joy and peace, never sorrow."

"My journey is drawing to its close," he wrote a few days later;[40] "after a long and hard journey across the mountains in an appalling rain-storm, I have at last reached Morelia safely from León. We had to make our way through swollen rivers, over steep crags, and through perfect seas of mire, but our excellent Mexican horses brought us victoriously through it all. I chose this breakneck road in order to shorten my journey and visit a few important inland towns of the Sierras. At Morelia, the most dangerous and politically troublesome city in the Empire, I was received with enthusiasm such as I have never before seen in my life; I could hardly get my horse

[39] The Emperor Maximilian to the Archduke Karl Ludwig from Piedad, October 4, 1864; draft in V. N. A.

[40] The Emperor Maximilian to the Archduke Karl Ludwig from Morelia, October 16, 1864; draft in V. N. A.

to advance, and when I was on foot, the crowd pressed close round me. The population is very inflammable and therefore dangerous. The city is very beautiful; it has rich palaces, built of stone, and a wonderful cathedral, also of stone, with three lofty towers. The surroundings are smiling and rich. At Toluca I am to meet Charlotte again. From there we are making an excursion together to the Nevada, a volcano, of which the lower slopes are covered with primeval forest, while up above, one comes to snow-fields and at last to two frozen lakes. From there straight back to Mexico City."

Throughout the whole journey the Emperor had spared neither himself nor his escort. Schertzenlechner, the former lackey, who as private secretary and counsellor of state had become only too well accustomed to the enervating life of a palace, thanked God when the journey was over.[41] The Emperor, he said, had had opportunities of working miracles everywhere through his personal qualities, but his escort had had to suffer terribly. From twelve to fourteen hours a day in the saddle for eight days on end was too much; he had often had to wade for five or six hours through low-lying regions, where the water and slime came up to the horses' bellies, and then to climb mountains consisting of nothing but blocks of stone. Schertzenlechner joined in all these exertions, for by this means he found opportunities of worming himself into his master's confidence. His influence was growing steadily greater. Thus he never let the Emperor out of his sight for a moment, so as to give no opportunity for competition to anyone else; for Maximilian was very accessible to cleverly contrived influences, as Schertzenlechner knew from his own experience.

On October 30 the Emperor and his wife, who had come out to meet him, arrived back in Mexico and were received by the society of the capital in the same style as before. The Empress Charlotte was proud that Maximilian had appointed her regent during his absence, as the Emperor Napoleon was in the habit of doing with Eugénie. Like Eugénie, she had also presided over the Ministerial Council. In the letter which

[41] Schertzenlechner to Radonetz, Tepetongo, October 22, 1864. V. N. A.

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30 Juillet
1864.

she wrote Eugénie on the subject,[42] she took the opportunity of uttering an urgent warning against reducing the establishment of the army in Mexico, which, she feared, would cause serious discouragement to all those friendly to the future of the Mexican people. About the same time letters arrived from the Empress Eugénie,[43] in which she touched somewhat superficially upon the conditions depicted in Charlotte's first letter after her arrival, and gave it as her opinion that the saying about the iron hand in the velvet glove had never been more appropriate than in the case of peoples of Latin race, especially in that of Mexico. She next dealt with the difficulties caused by the clergy, and regretted that temporal and material possessions took up so much room in their hearts. For the rest, Eugénie showed herself delighted with the grand reception of the young Emperor and Empress in Mexico, which Hidalgo had represented to her as a regular frenzy of enthusiasm. For he continued to cause letters to be written him from Mexico, the writers of which knew perfectly well whose hands their epistles ultimately reached. Thus he continued to keep the Empress in a state of illusion, which the Mexican Emperor and Empress had subsequently the greatest difficulty in combating. For the present, Charlotte and Maximilian were still full of the same illusions, as when, for instance, they reported to the Empress that the reception met with by the Emperor on his tour was beyond anything he had ever witnessed.[44] During the journey the Emperor Max had been taken ill with a feverish cold, which had forced him to make a long halt. Consequently he returned home rather exhausted from his illness and the strain of the journey, and hoped that he would be able to rest at Mexico and Chapultepec from the hardships he had endured, especially as the finest season in Mexico had just started and fragrant orange-trees, magnificent roses, and lovely violets were blooming in

[42] The Empress Charlotte to the Empress Eugénie, September 10, 1864, autograph copy by Charlotte, V. N. A.

[43] The Empress Eugénie to the Empress Charlotte, July 30, 1864, written in the morning, and a second letter written in the evening of the same day, as can be seen from its contents.

[44] The Empress Charlotte to the Empress Eugénie, August 27, 1864; copy in the Empress Charlotte's handwriting in V. N. A.

the golden sunlight on the terraced gardens of the beautiful castle of Chapultepec. The rainy season was over and the snow-clad volcanic peaks stood out in wondrous beauty against the clear sky. But Maximilian could not give himself up to his convalescence and the enjoyment of nature, which he so dearly loved. Anxieties and work of the most exacting description awaited him. The radicals — also known as the *Puros* — had shaken their heads over the Emperor's tour in the middle of the rainy season. They were ignorant of his secret reason for undertaking the journey and nicknamed him "*lalavava,*" meaning "feather-head." But Maximilian was not so enthusiastic over what he had seen on his journey as might have been concluded from his letters to his brother. There was already a marked change of tone in a communication which he sent to Gutierrez in Paris.[45] He expressed his joy at his reception and his hopes for the prosperity of the country, but he also observed that during his journey he had repeatedly felt constrained "to make severe examples and discharge officials."

"There are three classes which are the worst thing I have found in the country so far," observed the Emperor, "the judicial functionaries, the army officers, and the greater part of the clergy. None of them know their duties and they live for money alone. The judges are corrupt, the officers have no sense of honour, and the clergy are lacking in Christian charity and morality. But all this does not make me lose hope for the future. A commission is already at work on judicial organization, and another has been set up with a view to a complete reorganization of the army. As regards the clergy, if they are to be improved, what is necessary is a good concordat and a nuncio with a good Christian heart and an iron will. Only thus will the clergy be reorganized, made Catholic (which they are not at present), and acquire the good influence which they have hitherto not possessed. . . . We are impatiently awaiting the arrival of the nuncio, who was promised us months ago in Rome."

The Emperor Max was indeed anxious and troubled about

[45] The Emperor Maximilian to Gutierrez, León, October 30, 1864; draft in V. N. A.

the long delay in the nuncio's arrival. He divined something unpleasant behind it. On August 25, 1864 the Mexican Minister in Rome handed the Pope an urgent letter from the Emperor, and also requested him by word of mouth to hasten on the departure of the nuncio as much as possible. At last, a month later, took place the appointment of Monsignore Meglia as Apostolic nuncio at the Mexican Court. Months had still to go by, however, before he could take up his office in the capital.

Meanwhile all the reports sent by General Bazaine to Napoleon represented the military situation in Mexico as excellent. The victories won by the French troops on all sides against the Juarista detachments, with their loose formations, made such reports easy. Even without departing too far from the truth, the General was able to send his sovereign the information which he was pleased to hear. It was not so easy to realize in Paris that the defeated and scattered Juarista detachments always formed again and re-entered the field. Bazaine, who knew quite well that, in view of the general feeling at home, it was the desire both of the Emperor and of the French Government to reduce the quantity of money and troops necessary for Mexico as soon as possible, went so far as to say, in June 1864, that he was prepared to send home a few detachments of troops. When General Douay heard of this, he said that still further to reduce the weak body of troops in Mexico, a state three times the size of France, was utter madness. He expressed his misgivings in a private letter to Paris, of which Napoleon was at once informed. The Emperor was next so imprudent as to inform Bazaine [46] of Douay's doubts, with the remark that the former must of course be a better judge of what was necessary. Bazaine foamed with rage at this proceeding on the part of his subordinate, and the hatred between the two generals was increased. From that very day Bazaine started trying to get rid of him. Douay was well connected, so it was difficult for Bazaine, but he resolved to make the attempt. Thus the French officers were soon split into two camps, one of which was in favour of Bazaine, the other of

[46] Napoleon to Bazaine, July 7, 1864, printed in Gaulot, op. cit., I. 389.

Douay. But Napoleon at first relied upon Bazaine's cheering reports, at which he was quite delighted, for he thought he might conclude from them that "matters are settling themselves (*que les choses s'arrangent*)." [47]

Full of gratitude to this clever and fortunate general, Napoleon wished to give him a striking proof of his recognition and appreciation, and created him a marshal of France,[48] at the same time telling him to see to it that Maximilian had soon completed the organization of his native and foreign army, "so that we can soon leave (*pour que nous puissions partir bientôt*)." To Maximilian he said nothing of the sort,[49] and only promised him that he would propose to Corta, the financial expert, that he should remain in Mexico and help in the financial reconstruction. The Emperor of the French further added that he had been informed that since Mexican officials had once more been in charge of the customs at Vera Cruz, the most serious irregularities had again begun there. This was a little dig at Maximilian, who in every appointment had followed the advice of his father-in-law to spare Mexican susceptibilities. Secretly, too, he had been guided by the thought that the custom-house at Vera Cruz was the most important source of money in the country, and that foreigners would seek their own interest first, and that of Mexico only in the second place. Not a word was said in Napoleon's letter about the withdrawal of the French troops.

And yet, as was plain from his letters to Bazaine, Napoleon was already thinking of withdrawing them from Mexico as soon as possible, for matters in North America were not turning out as he, and even King Leopold, had expected. The latter had recently sent his son-in-law good advice,[50] telling him that the best means of making a Government possible and beloved was to restore public security by exerting the utmost severity. Care in this was much more important than, for

[47] Napoleon III to Bazaine, July 30, 1864, printed in Gaulot, op. cit., I. 400.
[48] The same to the same, August 30, 1864; see Gaulot, op. cit., I. 400.
[49] The Emperor Napoleon to the Emperor Maximilian, St. Cloud, September 14, 1864; original in V. N. A.
[50] Leopold, King of the Belgians, to the Emperor Maximilian, Laeken, July 11, 1864, and two letters of July 30, 1864; originals in V. N. A.

example, the question as to what ideas were held in Europe about the succession to the throne of Mexico.

What was going on in North America made the old King very grave, for he had always hoped for the complete victory of the Southern States. "I consider," he wrote, "that it is impossible *pro tempore* to win the goodwill of the Northern States; it must suffice to make it clear to them that every country has the right to choose its own form of government, suited to its own needs, and that Mexico is not a *foreign colony,* but an *American empire, exactly like Brazil.*"

Maximilian required advice and support, and considered his father-in-law, with his far-reaching connexions, the best person to give them. Maximilian reported his tour to him with satisfaction, giving as his motive [51] that he had personally to spur people to activity everywhere, in order to get Juarez out of the country; and that he must prove to the money markets of Europe that the land was already pacified and that the sovereign could travel through it unmolested. He asked King Leopold to support him in his efforts to retain Corta, the financial expert,[52] for he would be useful not only professionally, but as a Frenchman, since as such he could also use his influence with Bazaine, who was "a great spender" and whose enterprises cost an appalling amount.

On the other hand, Bazaine was really making every effort to cope with his overwhelming task. During the summer and autumn he had concentrated his fighting forces in the west and north of the country, in order to clear up as wide tracts of it as possible.

For the time being he was not dealing with the south, where Porfirio Diaz was keeping the Juarista flag flying. The imperialist arms were victorious in every quarter, Arteaga's troops were scattered, but he next started upon a harassing guerrilla warfare against Bazaine with a number of small detachments. Ortega was annihilated by a column of zouaves on September 21, Monterey was captured, and Juarez was

[51] The Emperor Maximilian to King Leopold, Querétaro, August 21, 1864; original in V. N. A.

[52] The same to the same, Guanajuato, September 22, 1864; original in V. N. A.

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forced to flee still farther north to Chihuahua. In view of the great remoteness of that city from Mexico, there could be no idea of pursuing him farther for the moment.

The success of this campaign, which brought a territory about the size of France into subjection to the Empire, appeared to be brilliant; yet it was very problematical, for it was one thing to defeat Juarista detachments in the field, but another thing to hold such an enormous area permanently, and secure it against the refractory elements of the population. This was an insuperable task for an army of only thirty thousand men, which never had any rest and was constantly forced to endure long marches and trying exertions.

At first Maximilian and Charlotte were extremely pleased [53] with Bazaine's activity and new-found energy. They also rejoiced that their Government was being recognized by nearly all the European States one after the other. Only England was still lacking. Lord Palmerston had written to King Leopold [54] that he hoped that the foundation of a good and ordered government in Mexico under the sovereignty of the new Emperor would turn out to be not only for the good of Mexico, but also for the greatest advantage of Europe. Moreover, the United States appeared to him to have come to the conclusion that they would not be capable of preventing the empire, and hence to have resolved to say as little as possible about it.

In reality Bazaine's successes aroused great uneasiness in the United States. The marshal was indeed very pleased with himself, and his reports to Paris were a faithful reflection of his feeling. For the moment he was convinced that he had brought his task to a fortunate conclusion, but his successes in the field made him proud and very sensitive about everything that did not go exactly as he wished. He was particularly suspicious because Maximilian appeared bent upon maintaining an independent attitude towards him. There was far too

[53] The Emperor Maximilian to King Leopold, October 22, 1864; original in V. N. A.

[54] King Leopold to the Emperor Maximilian, Laeken, September 12, 1864; original in V. N. A.

much talk about the friendship between the Mexicans and the French for it to be possible to believe in it. Every sort of trifling incident embittered the opposition which had already arisen. The marshal's sphere of action ought to have been clearly defined from the outset. But when it was noticed in Paris that Maximilian was not disposed to subordinate himself to a French general, this delicate problem was avoided. Thus the relations between them remained undefined, and everything was left to Bazaine's "tact." The evil consequences of this state of affairs ought not to be laid to the charge of either of them; they were the unavoidable outcome of the well-known fact that there can be only one master in a house, and that where two desire to rule, strife and dissension arise. There was naturally all the more cause for discord since Maximilian, absorbed in the idea of developing Mexico into a powerful and mighty empire, was now thinking about extending the borders of his country, which was already so vast, and was as yet far from being firmly and securely within his grasp.

In order to put out feelers in this connexion, Maximilian had chosen a faithful friend of his, Count Ollivier Rességuier, a former officer in the Austrian navy, to go on a highly confidential mission, travelling through the foreign regions which he had in view, in order to inquire into their political conditions. The situation was, at that time, that France was trying to extend her influence, not only in Mexico, but also in Central America, and the French Minister in the Spanish-American Republic of Guatemala, which adjoined Mexico to the south, was endeavouring, by favouring Conservative tendencies, to pave the way to an alliance between Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, and Nicaragua, which should be favourable to France.

On the other hand, England and the United States were working against the further extension of French influence in Central America. They were spreading a rumour in these republics that France desired to annex Mexico and then make further encroachments; and, wherever possible, they backed up the Liberal parties in those States.

Count Rességuier first approached Tallien de Cabarrus, the

French consul-general in Guatemala, and informed him in strict confidence that there was an idea of *annexing Central America to the Empire of Mexico in the more or less remote future*. Would the consul-general give him his opinion on the subject? Tallien's answer [55] was highly characteristic of France's projects in America at that time. Hitherto the minister's own personal idea with regard to this delicate and important question had merely been that it might perhaps be possible to aim at a certain *rapprochement* between the new Empire and the Republic of Guatemala, which had not been on very friendly terms with Mexico owing to frontier disputes. He had also expressed the hope to Napoleon III that such an understanding might form the point of departure for that recognition of the Empire in Mexico by the Spanish-American republics which it was desirable to obtain. The Liberal Government in Guatemala, with General Barríos at its head, which had been ill-disposed towards France and Mexico, had recently been overthrown by General Rafael Carrera, in spite of the moral support lent to Barríos by the English *chargé d'affaires* in that State. England had attempted to unite all the republics and to set up a government which, under her guidance, would have predominated in Central America and destroyed French influence for ever. But this had now failed, and since Guatemala occupied a leading position among the other States, the French Minister hoped that from there he would be able to extend French influence still farther in Central America.

Tallien therefore proposed that Mexico should conclude a frontier convention with Guatemala; then, and not till then, could Maximilian's agents work together with the French to induce Central America ultimately to combine with Mexico. But they ought not to try to rush things too much; he, Tallien, would lead up to them so gently that they could be presented as a *fait accompli* all at once without any shock or use of force. Any other means would be bound to postpone the desired annexation to the dim and distant future, even if it did not irrevocably prevent it. For the moment there was nothing to be

[55] Tallien de Cabarrus to Count Ollivier Rességuier, Guatemala, October 13, 1864. V. N. A.

done but for Mexico to restore to Guatemala the frontier territories which had formerly been unlawfully taken from her,[56] and which, moreover, were of no particular importance. Given clever handling on the part of the agents, such an accommodating attitude would lead Guatemala and, after her, the remaining Spanish-American States of Central America to recognize the Mexican Empire, and might in all probability have the further consequence that the Mexican Empire would expand up to the Isthmus of Panama. It would be possible for Carrera to unite Central America in a single state, of which he should be the viceroy. Thus alone could that equilibrium be restored on the continent of America which should set bounds to the "industrial development and spirit of conquest of the North."

By these far-reaching schemes Maximilian had desired to transfer to America the old program of all European rulers: namely, to add to their territories. He did not reflect that he ought not to begin to look abroad until he had established and strengthened his position in the interior. He wanted to do everything at once, to reform his whole vast empire internally and at the same time to carry on an active foreign policy. For the moment all this had to be relegated to the realm of dreams. The internal difficulties which were cropping up soon enlightened the Emperor on this point.

Since his return to the capital Maximilian had been overwhelmed with business, so that he often did not leave the palace for a week on end, "but work," he wrote to his brother,[57] "was and always is my joy, especially when one can count upon success."

To Napoleon he also described his journey with

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[56] On the establishment of Iturbide's empire, Guatemala joined it. When, in 1823, the Emperor was overthrown, it split off again. The province of Chiapas, which had formerly belonged to Guatemala, preferred to remain part of Mexico. To it belonged the city of Soconusco, with 15,000 inhabitants, which Santa Anna incorporated in Mexico. Guatemala provoked a protest on the part of the inhabitants of this city, and since then both city and State had been debatable ground.

[57] The Emperor Maximilian to the Archduke Karl Ludwig, November 27, 1864; draft in V. N. A.

satisfaction [58] and anticipated good results from it. He laid stress upon the comforting contrast between the population of the provinces and the inhabitants of the capital, whose patriotism had suffered from the bad influence of foreign elements, which had for long past profited by the incessant unrest. Maximilian assured him that he believed in the devotion of the majority of the Mexican people, and hoped that with the loyal co-operation of the marshal he would be able to get on till the proceeds of the loan became available, of which Fould had held out a prospect for next spring.

On seeing Bazaine, who had also come to meet him at Toluca, Maximilian said: "The present is gloomy, but the future will be splendid," [59] a remark which reflects his feelings better than all his letters to Paris or Vienna, to which he had given a favourable tinge.

He became more and more disheartened about the Church question; Maximilian was convinced that it was his duty to the Mexican people to set about its solution with imperturbable firmness, and he duly informed Napoleon of this. But serious differences of opinion were bound to arise.

Several diplomatic representatives accredited to Maximilian arrived in Mexico by the boat due from Europe at the end of November, among them the Austrian Minister, Count Thun, and the long-expected nuncio, Monsignore Meglia. Count Thun's arrival brought no advantage to Maximilian. Rechberg's secret instructions to the minister [60] laid it down as his chief and most delicate task to watch over the strict observance of the Family Pact, since information had reached the Cabinet of Vienna that Maximilian was preparing to repudiate the pledges which he had given in Austria, as soon as his accession should be an accomplished fact. For the rest, he was to confine himself to watching the situation vigilantly, for Austria was determined to maintain an entirely neutral attitude in the war

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[58] The Emperor Maximilian to Napoleon III, Mexico, November 11, 1864; draft in V. N. A.

[59] The Emperor Maximilian to King Leopold, October 10, 1864; original in V. N. A.

[60] Count Rechberg's secret instructions to Count Thun, Vienna, October 16, 1864.

between the Northern and Southern States of the Union, and also to exercise no influence upon what took place in Mexico. In other respects, too, Maximilian looked for small good from "the tiresome diplomatic corps,"[61] which would force him into "odious" receptions, dinners, balls, etc.

The appearance of a British Minister, Sir Peter Campbell Scarlett, was most welcome to him, since it marked that recognition of his Government on the part of Great Britain which he had so long desired. Palmerston had kept his word; the British Government had waited for the installation of the Emperor in Mexico before deciding to recognize the new order of things.

Maximilian was frankly delighted at the Englishman's arrival. He felt in general a cordial sympathy for England and English ways. He recalled with "absolute ecstasy" a visit which he had once made to that "jewel" Brighton. "Life in England," he once wrote to his brother,[62] "is beyond dispute one of the pleasantest in the world; it combines every comfort with complete liberty." It was because of this sentiment that he had been so hurt from the outset at having to regard England as a mere spectator, standing aside from his enterprise, and not a very benevolent one at that. It was for this reason that he had moved heaven and earth to induce England to look favourably upon him. And he now hoped that the appearance of the British Minister would at last denote a change for the better. He saw in it, above all, the hand of his father-in-law, who did indeed endeavour with tireless energy to be useful to his children, in spite of his illness and growing decrepitude. At that time, too, Maximilian received news of the interview between the King of the Belgians and Napoleon, which took place on November 14 at Compiègne. Both sovereigns wrote Maximilian autograph letters about its result. The long conference at Compiègne, in which Leopold joined with zest, in spite of the severe indisposition with which he had been seized on

[61] The Emperor Maximilian to the Archduke Karl Ludwig, Chapultepec, October 27, 1864; draft in V. N. A.

[62] The same to the same, Chapultepec, October 11, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

the previous day, brought together in the council chamber the two sovereigns, the Finance Minister Fould, the former governor of the Banque de France, and Corta. The first subject discussed was the necessity for a national bank for Mexico and a new loan; the next the way in which Maximilian had carried out his task so far. The French had conceived all sorts of misgivings and they complained in particular that Maximilian had cold-shouldered Napoleon's subjects in Mexico too much. The King of the Belgians was, however, of the contrary opinion, and wrote to his son-in-law: [63] " You have done quite right to surround yourself from the outset with commissions composed of natives; it was the only way to prevent the natives from saying that everything has been decided without adequate knowledge of the country. This phase is now over; a dictator alone has power to say: 'Let there be light and order.' "

Napoleon, on the other hand, wrote a very detailed letter to Maximilian [64] after the interview, in a tone of grave admonition. He wished to speak his mind fully to the young Emperor (*"exprimer toute ma pensée"*) as to the means by which the problems concerning the organization of Mexico might be solved as soon as possible. Of these Napoleon considered the most pressing to be those of the Church property, the organization of justice and administration, the recruiting of the army, and lastly the financial question.

Napoleon did not enter into the first four in detail; as regards these, he said Maximilian had better arrive at a decision of some sort; anything was better than uncertainty. But most important of all was the fifth, the financial question. Credit was the main point; a fresh loan of a hundred million francs was in contemplation for the year 1865, but for this purpose a sound bank must be established in Mexico, in which the leading bankers in Paris and London should be prepared to interest themselves. It was of course true that they would want to

[63] King Leopold to the Emperor Maximilian, Laeken, November 15, 1864; original in V. N. A.

[64] Napoleon to the Emperor Maximilian, Compiègne, November 16, 1864; original in V. N. A.

make money out of it, but they would render Maximilian great services, on which account Napoleon recommended that their proposals should be given a hearing. The Emperor of the French again advocated Gwyn's plans for the colonization of Sonora, which had aroused great mistrust in Mexico, and from which Maximilian was extremely averse, since he saw in them a menace to the territorial integrity of his land, and also because he desired to prevent the exploitation of the rich mines of Sonora mainly for foreign purposes.

In conclusion Napoleon touched upon the most delicate point by a disquisition upon the form which the state was to take and the way in which the government was to be conducted. Napoleon had originally desired that the new Emperor, who reigned by his grace, should rule in a liberal spirit, so that the world should see that under the Second Empire the banner of France was one and the same as that of liberty. But he had already seen that this would not be a success in Mexico, and so the tone of his advice had undergone a material change.

"I consider," he wrote to Maximilian, "that Your Majesty is bound to keep the absolute power in your own hands for a long time. None the less, I should like you, without incurring any danger, to obtain sanction for your proceedings by a show of national representation; that is to say, I should consider it a great advantage, particularly in the eyes of Europe, if, on the completion of the organization of the country and the settlement of all great outstanding problems, Your Majesty were to summon a congress for one or two days, the members of which should be nominated by Your Majesty from among the elected members of the municipalities; by this means the congress would be composed of persons enjoying the confidence of their fellow-citizens, while Your Majesty's nomination should prevent the congress from consisting of the opposition. In your place I should inform this assembly that so soon as the country was fully pacified, I was ready to work zealously at a constitution, but that I requested a vote of confidence, which should entrust me with dictatorial powers for a few years more.

"Your Majesty has already done much good, and I rejoice to see that the whole world does justice to you; but allow me to say that it is necessary first to occupy oneself with big things, the foundations and scaffolding of the building which you are beginning to construct, before turning your attention to details."

Maximilian himself was quite clear on this point. It would have been of far more use to him if Napoleon had not passed so lightly over the question of the Church property, but had given him some good advice as to how it was to be dealt with. The nuncio, Monsignore Meglia, had indeed at last arrived, but Maximilian anticipated[65] many hours of unpleasantness from the impending negotiations. Eugénie too had already expressed misgivings about the Pope's choice and written to the Empress Charlotte that the nuncio had not a very conciliatory character, was anything but liberal, and had made but few friends among the French clergy.[66] She continued to fear that Meglia would cause the Mexican Emperor and Empress embarrassment.[67] Besides, Maximilian wanted to institute liberty of worship and confirm the nationalization of Church property, from which latter measure, together with the disposal of such Church property as had not yet been sold, he looked for a "splendid stroke of business (*une affaire superbe*)"[68] for the State Treasury.

Eugénie and Maximilian were to see their expectations even surpassed. The Emperor had waited a long time, but at last he grew impatient, and on July 22 informed the papal Curia by a note[69] that if the nuncio did not arrive in time, he would act on his own initiative and take such measures as the situation demanded. The Mexican Minister in Rome obtained the

[65] The Emperor Maximilian to the Archduke Karl Ludwig, Chapultepec, November 27, 1864; draft in V. N. A.

[66] The Empress Eugénie to the Empress Charlotte, undated (September 1864); original in V. N. A.

[67] The same to the same, Schwalbach, September 24, 1864; original in V. N. A.

[68] The Empress Charlotte to the Empress Eugénie, Mexico, December 8, 1864; copy in the Empress's handwriting in V. N. A.

[69] Many of the facts quoted are drawn from a comprehensive account of the negotiations with the Curia drawn up by the minister Ramirez. Lithographed copy in V. N. A.

impression that the Curia had not much to say for the new regime in Mexico. The Mexican clergy had sent complaint upon complaint to Rome; for they had expected that the first act of the Emperor's Government would consist in suspending all the reforming laws directed against the Church, and above all in immediately restoring the Church property to its former owners, though a large part of it had already passed by purchase into the hands of third and fourth parties. Since Maximilian had not done so, but, on the contrary, had allowed several months to go by without promulgating any such laws, he had drawn down on his head the wrath of all the clergy. When his note of July 22 reached Rome, the appointment of Monsignore Meglia as nuncio had already taken place; but a letter [70] was sent by his hand complaining in the bitterest terms that the Church had so far been thoroughly disappointed in her hopes.

Shortly after his arrival the nuncio handed the Emperor his credentials and the Pope's letter, which contained the following demands: the annulment of all the reforming laws; the establishment of the Catholic faith, *to the exclusion of all other creeds*, as the basis and support of the Mexican Empire; entire freedom for the bishops in the exercise of their ecclesiastical functions; the restoration of the religious orders; the placing of both public and private instruction under clerical supervision; and lastly, the removal of all restrictions which kept the Church in dependence upon the State.

In response to this the Emperor communicated his counter-proposals to the nuncio under nine heads, which were in many respects diametrically opposed to the Pope's demands. Maximilian considered that the Church question could be settled "in an entirely Catholic, but also perfectly liberal sense." [71] But this was an illusion, for the very nature of the situation

[70] Pope Pius IX to the Emperor Maximilian, October 18, 1864; Italian original in V. N. A. Extracts from it are printed in an inaccurate German translation in Schmit von Tavera, op. cit., I. 338.

[71] The Emperor Maximilian to the Archduke Karl Ludwig, Chapultepec, December 26, 1864; draft in V. N. A.

rendered it quite impossible that the Curia would consent to the Emperor's plans. It was his intention to accompany the grant of liberty of worship to all creeds by simultaneously proclaiming the Catholic faith as the State religion.

Further, the Curia was to renounce its claims to the nationalized Church property, in return for which the State would assume responsibility for the salaries of the clergy.

The Emperor Maximilian expounded his views to the nuncio at an interview, and proposed to conclude a concordat based upon the nine points, which dealt with all problems. Immediately afterwards the nuncio held a conference with Archbishop Labastida and the other members of the higher clergy of Mexico, at which the most drastic decisions were arrived at, and the Emperor's proceedings were stated to be utterly opposed to the Pope's wishes.

Two days later the Emperor, having heard nothing from the nuncio, sent a confidential representative to him, who was informed that Monsignore Meglia had received no instructions with regard to such demands as the Emperor had formulated, that the Pope had clearly defined his point of view in the letter which the nuncio had handed to the Emperor, and that he himself could do no more.

This reply was a thunderbolt to the Emperor and Empress and their ministers. They saw at a glance that they had been abandoned by the Pope and the whole of the clergy, and that the hopes cherished in the country for the conclusion of a concordat and a profitable settlement of the question of the Church property were doomed to disappointment. The Empress, in violent indignation, said to Bazaine that the only thing for him to do was to throw the nuncio out of the window. Bazaine received this drastic remark with a smile. " Really," wrote Charlotte angrily to the Empress Eugénie, " to assert that the country, which is steeped in hatred for the theocracy, wishes this property to be restored to the clergy, bears witness to a weak-mindedness, a blindness, and a stubbornness beyond compare. It is just as if someone were to come up to one in blazing sunshine and allege that it was night, but unfortunately — I must admit this fact, discouraging though it is for the Catholics of

our age — such is the stuff of which the Court of Rome is made." [72]

On receiving this communication from the nuncio, the Ministerial Council held a meeting, with Maximilian as president, in order to deliberate upon the fresh situation which had arisen. It was decided at this council, with the full approbation of the angry Emperor, that, in the event of the nuncio's refusal to give way, a proclamation should be issued containing a general and comprehensive confirmation of the reform laws promulgated by Juarez. For the present, Maximilian refused to see the nuncio, in view of the attitude which he now took up, which was in contradiction with his attitude at his audience and the views which he had then expressed. He therefore asked the Empress to interview the nuncio on December 23, the day before Christmas Eve, in order perhaps even now to persuade him to change his mind. The Empress exerted herself for two full hours. " I can tell Your Majesty," she reported to the Empress Eugénie, " that nothing has given me a better idea of hell than that interview, for hell too is no more nor less than a blind alley with no way out. To try to convince someone, knowing that it is love's labour lost, that one might as well be talking Greek, since one side sees things black and the other white, is a labour fit for the damned. Everything slid off the nuncio as if from polished marble. At last he said to me that the clergy had set up the Empire. ' One moment,' I replied. ' It was not the clergy; it was the Emperor, who did so on the day of his arrival.' I made every possible representation to him in every possible tone, grave, gay, weighty, and almost prophetic, for it seemed to me that the situation might be followed by developments, perhaps even by a break with the Holy See, to the great detriment of religion. It was no use, he brushed my arguments aside like dust, but produced nothing in their place and seemed to be quite at home in the void which he created around him and in his utter denial of all light. By way of an ultimatum, I brought forward the Emperor's letter and said to him, as I rose: ' Monsignore, whatever happens, I

[72] The Empress Charlotte to the Empress Eugénie, Chapultepec, December 27, 1864.

shall take the liberty of recalling this conversation to you; we are not responsible for the consequences; we have done everything to prevent what will now happen, but if the Church will not help us, we shall serve her against her will.' "

In high indignation Charlotte informed her husband of the nuncio's attitude. His wife's excited and impassioned account made a deep impression upon Maximilian. He at once sent the minister Escudero, who had been the first whom the nuncio had informed of his brusque refusal, to call upon him and ask him to submit what he had said by word of mouth in writing also. The nuncio did so immediately (December 25, 1864), explaining exhaustively that his mission had been to bring about the abrogation of all laws detrimental to sacred rights, to declare them null and void and have them replaced by new ones which should redress the injustice. Freedom of worship was impossible, it was in contradiction with the deepest sentiment of the Catholic Mexican people, the clergy were revolted at payment by the State, and the Church, which had already been robbed so much, could not renounce her remaining rights as well.

The Emperor Maximilian flew into a rage. Hitherto he had considered himself a good Catholic, but to his mind this went beyond all bounds. As a modern and liberal sovereign, which was what he felt himself to be, it was indeed impossible for him to impose restraints upon the liberty of worship in his empire, impossible, too, without far-reaching upheavals and incalculable difficulties, simply to annul all the reform laws, and particularly the law concerning the Church property. If things could not proceed as he wished with the Curia's aid, they must proceed without it. The Emperor underestimated the influence of the clergy; he thought he could pick a quarrel with them, and even try a fall with them without suffering material damage.

Still under the full impression of the Empress's vehement words, on the day following this conversation he again summoned the Ministerial Council, in which Charlotte also took part. Maximilian explained to it the history of the whole Church question from the beginning, mentioned the informa-

tion which he had given the Pope personally, and what had been said to him by his minister; how he had waited eight months out of consideration for the Holy See, but was now of opinion that a solution must be found, since all the troubles in the country had their origin in the question of the Church property. The Emperor was very eloquent, but most of those present preferred less vigorous measures to his drastic schemes. Lares, the Minister President, and the Minister of Justice wished to make yet another attempt to talk over the nuncio; but it was evident that where the Empress herself had failed, the ministers would not be able to achieve anything either. And so, on December 27, Maximilian promulgated the decree confirming the nationalization of Church property, establishing the free exercise of all creeds, and commanding that only those purchases of Church property should be subject to revision in which the procedure had some flaw in it.

It was now the nuncio's turn to fly into a rage. He issued a strongly worded letter protesting that such proceedings degraded the Church to the position of a slave of the civil power, and criticizing the provisions of the Emperor's proclamation unsparingly.[73] Escudero was of opinion that this "insolent letter" of the nuncio's could certainly not be submitted to the Emperor, for almost every line of it transgressed diplomatic forms; and so he sent it back. And so when, on January 7, 1865, the Emperor issued a further decree, by which papal bulls and briefs were not to be promulgated or carried into effect without the imperial sanction, the result was an open breach with the nuncio, and hence with a rich and influential portion of the clergy of the country, and in particular with all the high dignitaries of the Church, who now for the most part took up an attitude of opposition to the Emperor. Only a few remained neutral, and many opposed the imperialist regime openly and with all their power. No sort of help or support was any longer to be expected from the clergy.

The situation thus created was extremely discouraging. The Empress Charlotte, who was far less optimistic than her husband, suffered severely from it. "The situation," she reported

[73] See Gaulot, op. cit., II. 36.

to the Empress Eugénie,[74] "is very strained, as much so, thanks to the nuncio and the clergy, as is possible, in this country at any rate. There is indeed nothing to be uneasy about for the future; it is perhaps better that the storm should break at last, but it is an unpleasant quarter of an hour to live through. This state of affairs has now lasted for a week, and for my own part I could wish it was over. The bishops are drawing up petitions which are respectful, at any rate in form; the nuncio, unseemly notes; ladies are making childish representations; in short, all passions are let loose; the extremist newspapers are at daggers drawn; the more extreme Liberals are exclaiming that the ideas of Juarez have triumphed, and exulting maliciously over the defeat of their adversaries; the Conservatives, on the other hand, imagine themselves to be the temporal subjects of the Pope, and are fools enough — pray excuse this word — to believe that religion consists in the tithe and the rights of property. It is evident enough that behind all the doings of the nuncio, who is a mere puppet (*mannequin*) is concealed the figure of Mgr. Labastida, whose bad Italian I know so well that I can recognize it in every line."

The whole ecclesiastical question was a terribly difficult one; retribution was now at hand for not having gone into it thoroughly before leaving Europe, but even then it had already been recognized that it was almost insoluble, and bore in it hidden dangers which might in the end imperil the whole enterprise.

This great display of energy against the Vatican provoked remonstrances from Gutierrez in Paris. His letter,[75] written on December 20, arrived too late. In response to the Emperor's complaints of the faults which he had observed in the clergy during his tour, Gutierrez remarked that, in order to reform them, it would be necessary to restore the seminaries, recall the Jesuits, and increase the number of nuns and Sisters of Charity. All the letters of this fanatical clerical con-

[74] The Empress Charlotte to the Empress Eugénie, Chapultepec, January 9, 1865; copy in Charlotte's handwriting in V. N. A.

[75] Gutierrez to the Emperor Maximilian, December 20, 1864. V. N. A.

sisted chiefly of proposals of this sort. But the Emperor's faith in him received a severe shock, when, in 1865, a certain Abbé Alleau was arrested in Mexico and immediately banished. He had on his person a pamphlet which he had written for the purpose of stirring up unrest among the clergy, and seemed to be a sort of secret agent sent to report on the situation in Mexico. A letter from Gutierrez was found on him, dated December 13, 1864, in which the Mexican expressed his hopes for the entire success of the mission presumably entrusted to him by Rome. Besides this a memorandum was found among his papers in which it was alleged that the Empress Charlotte was wearing herself out by her restless craving for activity because she was unhappy at having no children. This was due to the fact that when the Archduke Ferdinand Max had been admiral in the Austrian navy he had caught a disease from a Brazilian woman, which, though cured, precluded all possibility of his having children in future. These papers were submitted to the Emperor at his express wish. His indignation knew no bounds, and incidents such as these cannot have had a very soothing effect upon his feelings towards the clergy.

But in other respects, too, conditions were not calculated to produce a better frame of mind. The Juaristas were stirring everywhere; isolated bands even ventured within nearly a mile of Mexico City, and an expedition had to be fitted out against the strong enemy forces stationed near Oaxaca in the south. As the military situation grew worse the tension between the Emperor and Empress and Marshal Bazaine increased. In spite of all the pleasant things which Charlotte said about him in her letters to Eugénie, her annoyance at many of the marshal's measures was evident.[76] She wrote that Bazaine was an excellent, clever, trustworthy man of the highest military ability, but she thought that in the case of a high military command, just as at courts, harmful influences might make themselves felt. In this case the Empress Charlotte definitely mentioned as the culprit the chief of Bazaine's clerical staff,

[76] The Empress Charlotte to the Empress Eugénie, December 27, 1864; autograph copy by Charlotte in V. N. A.

Lieutenant-Colonel Boyer, to whose influence she thought these mysterious measures were to be attributed. "I have indeed nothing positive to go upon," she wrote to the Empress Eugénie, "but they say that women divine what they do not know, and I am inwardly convinced — I admit it, trusting to Your Majesty's kindness, for it is very bold of me to say such things to you — but since I have been coming to this conclusion for some months past, I cling to that title of sister which etiquette entitles me to use to you, and which finds confirmation in my heart, to communicate this judgment of mine to you, with the request that it may not go further than the Emperor's ears."

The Empress next gave it as her opinion that even if there were no grounds of complaint against Boyer, his removal, accompanied by some sort of promotion or distinction, was absolutely necessary in the interest of Mexico and France. She could not help saying that he was the only French officer whose face she did not like, for his features revealed his hardness, ill will, and bitterness.

Charlotte complained above all that in consequence of the expeditionary force having recently been weakened by Bazaine, who had sent one brigade home, and for a thousand other reasons, the pacification of the country was again seriously threatened. The departments of Michoacán and Guadalajara were once again entirely in the hands of armed bands, and anxiety at the prospect of a further decrease in the French troops was growing. It was Boyer and his influence on the marshal whom she held indirectly responsible for all this.

This was a sharp attack upon Bazaine's most trusted colleague and the first sign of the coming crisis in the relations between the sovereign and the marshal. Bazaine was bound to hear of it before long, for, as a Frenchman and the leader of such an important enterprise, he was more to his Emperor than the foreigner Maximilian, whose first task was to protect the interests of Mexico. The Empress began to interfere more and more. The greater the difficulties, the more evident it

became that they were too much for Maximilian, and, as is usually the case, his wife became increasingly prominent. It was she who drew up the answer to Napoleon's warning letter of November 16, 1864. While Maximilian's letters to Napoleon were always cordial, conciliatory, and considerate, the answer composed by the Empress betrayed a feeling of irritation, though in reality she and Maximilian gave way to Napoleon in everything. At the very beginning of the letter [77] it was pointed out to him that they had expected to find on their arrival that the Council of Regency and the French administration had made adequate preparations for them; but in reality everything had to be begun from the beginning. Moreover, the decree that was to provide a final solution for the question of the Church property had been promulgated, together with an intimation that the organization of justice had had to be delayed till this was settled. On the other hand the reorganization of the country by dividing it into departments had been completed after long and toilsome labour. With regard to the recruiting law mentioned by Napoleon, Maximilian had had to make up his mind to disband the untrustworthy Mexican troops which had hitherto been organized, keeping only the élite of the officers and men as the nucleus of the new army. With reference to the financial questions raised by Napoleon, the Emperor stated that he had been under the illusion that the first loan would suffice for the requirements of the country; but he had long since been disillusioned, and was anxiously awaiting the dispatch of a good man of business, like Corta, who, to his regret, had left him in the lurch. Meanwhile he had had a budget drawn up providing for economies of ten million piastres, and had sent Bourdillon and another official to Paris with the object of negotiating for the establishment of a Franco-Mexican bank and discussing a fresh loan. In Sonora he was now prepared to "concede an orderly government under the joint protection of the French and Mexican flags, which should enable Gwyn to carry his colonization schemes into effect."

[77] The Emperor Maximilian to Napoleon III, December 27, 1864; draft in the Empress's handwriting. V. N. A. Already published in part by Ollivier, op. cit., VII. 253.

"The more I study the Mexican people [the Mexicans]," [78] concluded the letter, "the more I am led to the conclusion [I think] that we have got to try to make them happy without their help, and perhaps against their will." This letter was written with the caution demanded by the nature of their relations with Napoleon. Maximilian expressed himself with noticeably more freedom to his father-in-law.[79] He especially complained of the nuncio and the French Minister, whom he could not endure. "The nuncio," he wrote, "is stiff-necked and disagreeable. The instructions from Rome, so far as they are yet known to us, are *silly* and absolutely *impossible;* yet I still hope to find a satisfactory way out. . . . We are on the best of terms (*couleur de rose*) with Bazaine, less so with the minister Montholon, a cantankerous, disagreeable character, who cannot shake off the habits of a former consul, with his petty intrigues."

It looked from this as if things were going better between them and Bazaine for the present; but this was not to last long.

In all the exhausting struggles which Maximilian had to endure he found his only joy and consolation in the incomparable beauties of nature. While in Europe all things lay buried in ice and snow, in Mexico the loveliest spring prevailed. Both Chapultepec and Cuernavaca were perfect paradises. Maximilian considered that they combined the beauty of Naples with the peace of Lacroma. All he missed was the sea, with its alternations of wild tempest and solemn calm, so that from time to time he suffered, as he said, from "a craving for the sea (*Meerweh*)." When he let his eyes wander from the terraces of Chapultepec, crowning the porphyry cliffs, over the wide valley at his feet, he never wearied of gazing upon all this beauty. In the midst of the valley lay the capital, with its wealth of domes and towers, in the distance the great lakes and

[78] The version in square brackets is the one given by Ollivier, with no exact reference to its source. That not in brackets is the one given by the draft in V. N. A.

[79] The Emperor Maximilian to King Leopold, Chapultepec, December 26, 1864; original in V. N. A.

the giant snow-clad volcanoes, and, as a setting for the whole vast picture, a chain of mountains melting on the horizon into all shades, from a soft blue to the deepest violet. Add to this the sacred grove at the foot of the crag, with Montezuma's age-old cypresses, above which rose the terraces of the castle, overflowing with flowers and blossoms. In such surroundings it was possible for a moment to forget the wiles and intrigues of men, their cowardice and baseness; he could withdraw into himself and devote himself to the cult of beauty and joy.

All too soon news from the capital called the Emperor back to the greyness of everyday life. Although the Emperor sought out the Liberals and called them round him, they had never been well-disposed towards him, and the Conservatives appeared so much affected by his struggle with the clergy that the Emperor began to tremble for even the more moderate of them. The Liberals fostered the Emperor's resentment against the Conservative party and the clergy for what had happened about the nuncio, and determined to take advantage of it to make him deprive himself of his own accord of his best and most capable generals, Marquez and Miramón, who were both extremely Conservative and clerical. They managed to represent to the Emperor how dangerous it was to keep in the country such capable generals who were entirely in the hands of the higher clergy, at a time when the latter were at odds with the Emperor. Schertzenlechner in particular, who was an enemy of the clergy, influenced him in this direction, till Maximilian actually began to fear that Marquez and Miramón would desert him, and resolved to take vigorous measures against them and all conspirators, whether generals or high officials. Both Marquez and Miramón were therefore got rid of. The Emperor sent one of them on a special mission to Constantinople and the holy places at Jerusalem, while the other was sent to study Prussian artillery methods in Berlin. So far was Maximilian already estranged from the Conservative party, the only one which had called him into the country, while he had not drawn a hair's breadth nearer to the Liberals.

Maximilian informed Napoleon of his resolve without delay,[80] remarking that the Emperor would shortly see in Paris General Marquez, who was to be removed from the scene for the time being, " in order to withdraw him from the pernicious influence of the clergy, to whom he has always been devoted." For the rest, the letter contained nothing but civilities, such as the bestowal of the Grand Cross of the newly-founded Mexican Order of the Eagle, with the chain, and the announcement that he was sending him some pearl-bearing shells from Mexican waters as a present for the Emperor's table, " intended to receive the ashes of those nice cigarettes which inspire one so pleasantly to work and reflection."

Meanwhile the Emperor and Empress of the French received from Bazaine reports of the state of affairs in Mexico which were almost always rosy, while those from the minister Montholon were less gratifying, though more in accordance with the truth. Montholon in particular had sent word that Ramirez, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the Belgian Eloin, chief of the Emperor's civil cabinet, were hostile to France. When Hidalgo informed Maximilian of this,[81] the latter wrote on the dispatch that Montholon was a tactless " old gossip," for Ramirez and Eloin were on the best of terms with Marshal Bazaine. In other respects also Montholon sent an unfavourable account of Mexico, emphasizing the fact that the greatest confusion prevailed in the administration, that orders and counter-orders were constantly clashing, and everybody was occupied with nothing but details. But Napoleon put greater faith in Bazaine, and allowed himself for the time being to be induced by his favourable reports to judge the situation far more calmly than circumstances warranted. He had again plunged into the historical work at which he had been working for a long time. His plan was to compose an apology for his own career under the guise of a life of Julius Cæsar, who had also been led by fate to an imperial throne after much tribulation.

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[80] The Emperor Maximilian to Napoleon III, Chapultepec, January 10, 1865; draft in the Empress's handwriting in V. N. A.

[81] Hidalgo to the Emperor Maximilian, November 19, 1864. V. N. A.

Napoleon could not approve of the development of financial affairs in Mexico, for he had hoped for a speedy reimbursement of all his expenditure by the new Emperor; but now such sums were being lavished on the fresh campaigns which Bazaine found necessary, and on the installation of the Empire, that there could be no idea of any financial results from Mexico for an indefinite period. Fresh instructions kept going out to the French representative in Mexico to ask for the payment of the sums laid down by the Convention of Miramar, the claims for damages, etc. Montholon went still further, and urged the Emperor to come to an agreement with Jecker, the banker, by which the latter was to receive thirty per cent of his exorbitant total claims.[82] Maximilian entered into negotiations with this cunning speculator, since he thought that by so doing he was rendering a service to Napoleon. But he saw with dismay how expenditure was mounting up, while the fiscal organization, and in particular the levying of taxation, was meeting with the greatest difficulties, so that the only real sources of revenue that could actually be reckoned upon were the customs-houses at the principal ports. Napoleon was not pleased with Montholon's unfavourable accounts of Mexico, since he, and especially the Empress, did not want to hear them. Nor was Maximilian well-disposed towards him; he took him for a "great charlatan"[83] and agitated against him in Paris; till at the beginning of March 1865 Napoleon removed the Marquis to Washington, and appointed Alphonse Dano as his successor. Montholon soon learnt from his friends in Paris that unfavourable reports about him were reaching Napoleon's court from the Emperor Maximilian. And so it came

[82] The agreement between Jecker's representative and Campillo, the Mexican delegate, provided that the nominal value of every bond of the loan should be reduced by 70%, and should no longer bear any interest whatever. In this way the debt was screwed back to 4,532,000 pesos, payable in three drafts in Paris, on October 15 and December 15, 1865, and February 15, 1866, of which the first payment was fixed at 1,532,000 pesos, the second at 1,000,000 and the third at 2,000,000. Since Jecker had advanced only 3,750,000 francs in cash, it followed that the bank still made a very good bargain with the 22,500,000 francs granted to them in this manner (1 peso = 5 francs). The capital amount of the bonds had amounted so far to 75,000,000, which bore interest in addition.

[83] The Emperor Maximilian to Hidalgo, October 1, 1865. V. N. A.

about that the representative of France in the capital of the United States, which was already hostile to the Mexican Empire on its own account, was anything but a friend of the Emperor's, a fact which was afterwards to make itself felt to Maximilian's disadvantage. Opponents were rising up against the Emperor on every side. Washington had always been openly hostile; next came the breach with Rome, the relations between him and Austria were very strained, the Emperor was not always on the best of terms even with Bazaine, the Emperor and Empress in Paris were growing more and more sceptical, and even in the Emperor's own household ominous dissensions began to make themselves felt.

But he did not report all these difficulties to his family. If anyone had read Maximilian's letters to his younger brother, he might have thought that the Emperor was leading a laborious, but quite peaceful existence. He gave an exhaustive account of his private life, accompanied by ironical, jesting observations, but the letters gave no idea of the enormous opposition which was accumulating against him. "Business is piling up," he wrote to his brother,[84] for instance, "as the Government becomes consolidated, and I am kept on the go from five in the morning till eight in the evening. My only free moment is from eight to nine in the morning, when I generally ride out with Charlotte to enjoy the glorious morning air, like everybody here, with one of those admirable Mexican saddles, in Mexican riding-costume, with the broad-brimmed hat, the light jacket, the trousers adorned with their silver buttons, and the admirable and picturesque cloak. In the evening I have another free hour between eight and nine, during which I pace like a sentinel up and down our terrace; the writer of this, my old treasurer (Kuhacs) has usually to accompany me, for his sins. I go to bed about nine in the evening, or even earlier. From my letter to Mamma you will see that last week we received at the palace a deputation of real, heathen Indians from the far northern frontier, regular Fenimore Cooper figures in the true sense of the word. They had dinner here yesterday in

[84] The Emperor Maximilian to the Archduke Karl Ludwig, Chapultepec, January 6, 1865; draft in V. N. A.



THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN OF MEXICO
RIDING IN MEXICAN COSTUME

Montezuma's cypress grove, on the very place where the Indian Emperor used to hold his great banquets." In this letter too appear the Emperor's efforts to adapt himself to the customs of the country, and thus endear himself to the people, whereas on the contrary they had looked for exotic splendour and pomp, and had no respect for the demeanour of the Emperor, who made himself like them. Only the court balls introduced a little variety, and were very popular among the society of Mexico. "Every Monday," Maximilian reported to his brother,[85] "Charlotte gives a ball, which is always a great success and very animated, and at which a bevy of the loveliest women join in the dance. The diplomatists are arriving one after the other, which gives us boring receptions and dinners. Thanks to great efforts, our cuisine at least is one of the best that exists at present, and so are the imperial cellars. The diplomatists gorge and swill to such an extent that as a rule after dinner they can only mumble inarticulate sounds. The carriages we had at Milan have all arrived from Miramar, so that the stables too are shaping up. . . . Our Court Ceremonial, a thick printed book, a gigantic piece of work, is at last complete; I may flatter myself that in this sphere I have achieved the most finished piece of work that has ever been done." From such commonplace letters as these it might be supposed that the Emperor regarded the whole Mexican enterprise as a mere game and a princely caprice. By purposely avoiding all difficulties and serious matters, they gave an entirely false picture of things as they really were, of the stern and bitter struggle against unheard-of difficulties of every sort, of ugly dissensions which were springing up on all sides; in a word, of the insoluble complications and dangers which were already arising, though his reign had lasted barely eight months.

What strikes one most in the letters written home by the Emperor is a certain animus against the "reactionary tendencies" prevailing in "old Europe." It is quite characteristic that, after saying how home-sick he was for the laurels of

[85] The Emperor Maximilian to the Archduke Karl Ludwig, Chapultepec, February 24, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

Lacroma, the oleanders of Miramar, and the deep blue of the Adriatic, Maximilian wrote to his physician, Dr. Jilek, at Miramar:[86] "Yet I do not regret the present; it is devoted to action, effort, and creation. The peaceful joy of life may be lacking, but there is a deep satisfaction in the thought that one is serving humanity, and that I can now contribute a few drops of oil to the great lamp of enlightenment; that it is granted to me to take part in that work of improvement at which men of goodwill have been working for hundreds, nay, thousands of years. Though here I no longer have the breezes of the Adriatic or the air of Lacroma, I am living in a free country, among a free people, where principles prevail of which you at home cannot even dream. I am no longer cramped by any fetters, and here I may openly say that I desire what is good. Though Mexico may be retrograde in many respects, and lacks material prosperity and development, in social questions, which are the most important in my opinion, we are far in advance of Europe, and especially of Austria. A healthier democracy prevails among us here, free from the morbid, fantastical character of that prevailing in Europe, but with a strength and conviction such as will perhaps not develop among you till after a hard struggle lasting fifty years. European judgments with regard to this country are almost universally false, Europeans cannot and will not understand conditions out here, they are too proud to admit that we Americans are a long way ahead in essentials.

"All that has been said about the clericals and their overwhelming influence is utterly false, the Blacks are bad and weak, and the enormous majority is liberal and desires progress in the fullest sense of the word. If you were to know my new ministers and hear them talk, my excellent Doctor, you would see all the more clearly that your great and far-famed minister is really no more than an obscurantist and a Jesuit."

Such was the pride in his empire's size and progressive spirit which Maximilian displayed to the outside world; yet, at that very moment, the Mexican Empire was passing through a severe crisis.

[86] The Emperor Maximilian to Dr. Jilek, February 10, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

The decree of December 27, with its drastic solution of the question of the Church property, which was due to Maximilian's impulsive nature, had been somewhat of a shock to all parties, not only to the Conservatives and clericals, as was natural, but also to the Liberals, who were upset by the very elastic provision introduced at the end with regard to the revision of "irregular" purchases.

The plea, now reiterated afresh by King Leopold,[87] that he should go gently with the clergy, arrived too late. The old King knew from experience what opposition might be aroused by treating them harshly. In a similar situation he had always been pliant enough to extricate himself from trouble without harsh measures. He would have been glad to see the same thing in his son-in-law, but the latter was too thoughtless, too impulsive, too hasty, and too persistently carried away by his own personal convictions; he had nothing of King Leopold's character, he lacked the diplomatic spirit, and so he was bound to act as he did. Maximilian only hoped that Napoleon would not recall his troops too soon, for that would ruin all that he had accomplished. "I need a strong force," wrote Maximilian at that time,[88] "in order to impose reforms and improvements; the people here have to be compelled to what is good."

The Empress Charlotte was fully aware of the critical situation. Since her arrival in Mexico, and since she had obtained a somewhat deeper insight into things, she had lost so much of her optimism that the deputy Corta, who had been one of the most trusted confidants of the Emperor and Empress before his departure for Europe, told her as early as September 1864 that she saw things in too gloomy a light.[89] During the latter months of 1864 she had really believed for a time that everything would turn out for the best, especially when she saw how warmly her husband was received in Mexico City on

[87] King Leopold to the Emperor Maximilian, Laeken, December 25, 1864. V. N. A.

[88] The Emperor Maximilian to King Leopold, February 2, 1865; original in V. N. A.

[89] The Empress Charlotte to M. Corta, Mexico, February 5, 1865; autograph copy by the Empress in V. N. A.

his return from his tour, and became convinced of the good effect of various measures — for instance, of a circular letter dealing with public order which had been sent to the prefects of the departments. She had the impression that the desire for peaceful progress was gradually driving out the old discord, and even that a sort of brotherly spirit was beginning to arise. In spite of this, in view of the incomplete pacification of the country, she had witnessed with the greatest anxiety the proceedings of Bazaine, who at the end of 1864, in order to meet the wishes of his Emperor and public opinion in France, had sent home General Douay's brigade, one of the best in the expeditionary force. Yet for a time even this seemed to have done no harm; everything seemed to be taking a better turn, and the Empress already began to believe that she had really been too nervous. Then the nuncio arrived, the question of the Church property was raised, and the whole position suddenly changed. All hopes of agreement and peace, all interest in the railway to be constructed between Vera Cruz and Mexico, in the national bank and the loan, were swept away; and nobody thought of anything except, as Charlotte said, "tearing one another's hair out." The newspapers *La Monarquía* and *El Espíritu público* had to be suspended for a month for their violent invectives, and once again the country was split into two camps, while the armed bands increased enormously, and the Liberals, full of hatred, exulted over this state of affairs.

The Holy Father, said Charlotte,[90] who said himself in his jesting way that he was a *jettatore*,[91] was indeed right, "for," she wrote, "it is a fact that since his envoy set foot in our land we have had nothing but trouble and we expect to have more in the immediate future. I do not think we lack energy and perseverance, but I almost ask myself whether it will be humanly possible to find a way out of our difficulties if they increase at this rate."

The clergy were mortally insulted by the letter of December

[90] The Empress Charlotte to the Empress Eugénie, Chapultepec, January 26, 1865; copy in the Empress's handwriting in V. N. A.

[91] Had the evil eye.

27, and everything worked together to thwart the Emperor's proceedings. The bishops would gladly give up their palaces and their crosses, but not their revenues. "A salary from the State," continued the Empress, "would never bring them in so much, and while we are struggling here to establish the Church's position, it is their ideal to live in Europe on their money. The sales of Church property which have already been effected will be revised, and another apple of discord lies hidden in this, for by recognizing the reform laws we have at once brought down upon us the fury of the Conservatives. Now therefore the Liberals, and I think even a few French immigrants, are coming over to us, since their rights of possession have been recognized. Since there can be only one standard and one weight, those persons who have been guilty of various unlawful sharp practices will have to restore what they have gained, and I am afraid that this act of reparation and justice will stir up as much passion as the loss of their property has done in the case of the clergy. For the past month we have been passing through a grave crisis; if we can face it victoriously, the Mexican Empire will have a future; if not, I do not know what the future will bring forth. For the first six months everybody considers a Government splendid, but let it once touch anything, let it set to work, and it is deserted. The reason is that nothingness (*'le néant'*) will not submit to being dethroned; Your Majesty perhaps believes, as I did, that nothingness is incorporeal: on the contrary, in this country one stumbles upon it at every step, and it is made of granite, it is more powerful than the spirit of man, and God alone can bend it. It was less hard to erect the pyramids of Egypt than to vanquish Mexican 'nothingness.' But none of this would really matter if it were not for the most important fact that the army is being reduced, and with it the strength of the Government. I am always afraid that power will slip from us while we are pursuing its shadow. The Corps Législatif in Paris will no doubt talk; but its speeches are those of more or less skilful advocates; here we have facts, which will be in the highest degree injurious to France, and may threaten an enterprise which she has founded, and which is destined to make

the name of Napoleon III known to the remotest nations. It is a very fine thing that the whole world, like the English Parliament, should say that Mexico is so well organized that she can endure without anybody's help, but I prefer to cling to realities. In order to civilize this country, one must be entirely its master; in order to have one's hands free, one must back up one's power by big battalions at every moment; that is an incontrovertible argument. Any power which cannot be backed up by action has only a precarious value, which rises and falls. Values here have been falling for some time past, hence the lack of troops [*sic*]. The Austrians and Belgians are good only in time of peace, but when the storm comes there is nothing like the red trousers. If I may be allowed to speak my mind to Your Majesty, I believe it will be very hard to survive all these first crises of our existence unless the country is occupied in greater strength than is now the case. The troops are very scattered, and I think that, instead of being recalled, they ought really to have been increased. The marshal will perhaps repent that he did not write what we asked him to do in October."

The Empress Charlotte, who was half French on her mother's side, laid stress on the fact that in what had gone before she had set down not only her own opinion, but also that of Generals Douay and d'Hérillier. "*We* might," she continued, "in certain circumstances survive a blow, nobody would be surprised; but the French army could not. We might, in case of necessity, like Juarez, retire to a remote province, we could go back to where we came from, but France cannot dispense with a triumph; firstly, because she is France, and secondly, because her honour is at stake. . . . It is now a question," concluded the letter, "of making a last effort which shall crown the work. If Your Majesties make up your minds quickly and decide to support us, the business will be ended much sooner, and the approach of the moment hastened when the sole relations between Mexico and France will be those of mutual interest and gratitude. In the contrary case, she will perhaps in a few months' time be gravely and fruitlessly compromised. You, Madam, my good sister, who have done so much for this

country, will not abandon it; only consider that your interests cannot gain where ours suffer. Think of the Emperor and your son, and France will applaud you, for France has always been true to success, magnanimity, and glory."

After these effusions the Empress Charlotte felt thoroughly relieved, like one who has had a grave sin upon his conscience and confessed it.[92] She asked the Emperor and Empress of the French not to withdraw any more troops until they had listened to General Douay, who was on the point of starting for Europe. On the contrary, an increase of forty thousand men would be necessary, which could easily be managed now that the French expedition to Algiers had almost come to a successful finish. They must consider, and even Jules Favre must see it, that the reinforcement of the troops was a necessary condition of the struggle with the clergy, combined with the spirit of disorder and the Juaristas. The Government was bound to crush these elements in order to pave the way for order, progress, and the true and glorious future of the land; namely, European immigration. "Our mission is, slowly, in all friendliness, but none the less surely, to bring about the immigration into Mexico of a population which shall absorb the one previously existing, for nothing can be done with the present elements, I should say it quite openly if I did not fear that it would be reported here. I reckon upon the immigration from Europe, which will perhaps set in in the course of this year, and if I were not convinced that it would be considerable, I should have to admit to Your Majesty that all we are doing is absolutely to no purpose."

The Empress further attacked Bazaine's reports that in considerable portions of the country there were no armed bands. This was not accurate: General d'Hérillier had just been compelled to carry out operations near the capital, there were so many bands there. She was convinced that the Emperor and Empress of the French would regret the reduction of the troops if they knew what was happening. For the rest, she assured Eugénie that she trusted in the hand which

[92] The Empress Charlotte to the Empress Eugénie, Chapultepec, February 3, 1865; copy in Charlotte's own handwriting in V. N. A.

on April 10, 1864 had written those lines which were the expression of a strong power as well as of sovereign friendship: "Always count upon my friendship and support."

Very little was said about Bazaine in the letter, but all the more about the triumvirate, Douay, d'Hérillier, and Brincourt. The Empress praised the first of these most highly, and urged that he be sent back from Paris to Mexico without fail, for he was the right man in the right place, very competent, very straightforward and energetic, with no illusions, frank, and full of indefatigable zeal. It was quite obvious what the Empress meant, even if she did not say it in so many words. The Mexican Emperor and Empress wished with all their hearts that Bazaine might be replaced by Douay, and so she praised everybody but the marshal, and Douay was brought into particular prominence.

The outward life of the Emperor and Empress presented remarkable contrasts at that time. Balls, entertainments, and dinners alternated with days of extreme suspense and anxiety, when the capital was threatened with attack by a large band. Often in the midst of a ball they could hear the cannon-fire of a battle before the city gates. As regards her duties of entertaining, Charlotte followed the example of the Empress Eugénie; she held a reception every Monday, collecting round her all that was brilliant and lovely in the capital. Otherwise the Emperor and Empress tried to live as simply as possible, to live and dress entirely in the Mexican style, and adapt themselves in every way to their new surroundings.

At Chapultepec a special defence corps was stationed, provided with artillery, and there was a system of signals for giving the alarm the moment danger threatened. Thus the Emperor and Empress lived apparently in peace, and yet always on the alert, oppressed by the cares of government, surrounded by a curious population, partly hostile, partly indifferent, and watched with supreme mistrust by the United States in the north. How uncomfortable their situation was was sufficiently expressed in the Empress's letters to Eugénie, but still more so in a confidential letter to Corta, whom she earnestly begged to support her request for the necessary reinforcements

in the right quarter in Paris. "This is urgently necessary," she wrote to him, "for otherwise one cannot answer for anything, and I consider that France is so great that if she once embarks upon anything, it is assured against all contingencies." [93] The Empress thought the whole situation might be saved if France did not withdraw from the game, and so she did her utmost to keep alive the interest of the French Empress.

While Charlotte was bringing pressure to bear upon the Empress Eugénie, the Emperor Maximilian was attempting to represent to Napoleon [94] that fresh reductions in the strength of the French expeditionary force would be premature, for the number of troops laid down in the Convention of Miramar was already insufficient. Douay would explain this in greater detail. Maximilian also drew Napoleon's attention to the interpretation given by the French officers to that somewhat obscurely expressed article in the Convention of Miramar, by which it might happen that now, when a new army was in process of formation, a sub-lieutenant of the French army might be placed in a position of superiority to his former chief of battalion, a colonel in the Mexican army. The Emperor also requested that individual officers in the French army might take service in the Mexican army, for instance Major Loysel, to whom he was particularly attached, and to whom he wanted to entrust the organization of a model Mexican brigade. Maximilian's requests with regard to military matters were an indirect attack on Marshal Bazaine, for they bore witness to the Emperor's dissatisfaction with the weakening of the French expeditionary force proposed by Bazaine and already partially carried out, and to the disputes about seniority which arose from the division of the command between French and Mexican officers.

All that Maximilian had done so far had been more or less suggested to him by his entourage. The prudent old King Leopold, in spite of his good intentions, was too far away to give his son-in-law the guidance which he needed, and

[93] The Empress Charlotte to M. Corta, Mexico, February 5, 1865; copy in the Empress's writing in V. N. A.

[94] The Emperor Maximilian to the Emperor Napoleon III, Mexico, January 27, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

irresponsible, impudent, and unauthorized persons came crowding round. Those in the Emperor's immediate surroundings were not fitted to support him in carrying out such a mighty task as the government of a great empire. Schertzenlechner had lately doubled his influence, and together with Eloin, who had a dislike for the clergy, played an active part in the breach with the nuncio, for he was very anti-clerical, talked contemptuously about the "parsons," and said that General Vicario, who had just issued a proclamation attacking the Emperor and the Government, ought to be hanged as a rebel.[95] Schertzenlechner did not fail to tell everybody, even Radonetz, the prefect of the palace at Miramar, that he was "weighed down with work," meaning to hint by this at the great position which he had made for himself in these new conditions.

The influence and demeanour of this person, who possessed neither the intellectual nor the social qualities necessary in the Emperor's chief adviser, filled the rest of the Emperor's entourage with the utmost uneasiness. The other members of the imperial Court, partly out of envy, regarded Schertzenlechner with ill-concealed disfavour. They had found him an original nickname. In the city of Cholula, where nearly a hundred mighty sacrificial temples had stood in Montezuma's day, the tower of the highest and largest temple, of which only a part has survived, was called "the great Cu." The former lackey, who had reached such a high position, thanks to his Emperor's favour, was compared to this tower; but in order to show how little they thought of Schertzenlechner's ability, in spite of the Emperor's high opinion of him, the word "Cu" was altered to "Muh," alluding to the moo of cattle, and Schertzenlechner was accordingly nicknamed "the great Moo."

On one occasion, when the report had gone round that Schertzenlechner had been shot at in Mexico City, the wife of Kuhacsevich, the Treasurer, wrote to Frau von Radonetz at Miramar:[96] "The disorder is still great! Günner[97] ought to

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[95] Schertzenlechner to Radonetz, Chapultepec, January 27, 1865. V. N. A.

[96] Frau von Kuhacsevich to Frau von Radonetz, Chapultepec, January 11, 1865. V. N. A.

[97] Rudolf Günner, an Austrian, an officer in the Imperial Palace Guard.

have a dozen heads; he has to do everything, for there is nobody here. . . . I am in the same position. Günner and I are telegraphing all day! What a business! But our health is good in spite of it, and whenever possible we are quite merry when we meet together at home in the evening."

A slip of paper enclosed in the letter further said: "The clergy are rabid at the Emperor's four articles, they are conspiring, a general has escaped from Mexico and is six leagues from here with a thousand men, our sentinels are doubled. Nobody rides into the city from here without a revolver, there will be more robberies and murders here than ever! Bombelles arrived this morning from Vera Cruz, they drove from Vera Cruz under escort, were fallen upon and robbed at Rio Frio, and had to pay ransom. If they had known Bombelles, they would have dragged him off too. The great Moo governs and says everything is going on splendidly — where nobody is sure of his life — His Majesty is always running to him for advice as to what he ought to do. When we were not here, it was not so; safety was to be found *far more* among the French, the Empress says so herself. They say a couple of bishops will have to be hanged, I am more afraid of them than of the guerillias [*sic*], especially as regards poison."

Eloin, the head of the Emperor's civil cabinet, had long viewed Schertzenlechner's demeanour with disfavour and become his bitter enemy. He did not fail to draw the Emperor's attention to the weaknesses and mistakes of his confidant. Eloin had found out that, in spite of the position to which he had risen, and although he was actually claiming the title of Excellency, Schertzenlechner was still drawing the allowance of an Austrian court lackey. He informed the Emperor of this without delay. Schertzenlechner soon noticed what an enemy he had in Eloin; and since he would gladly have taken his place, he stirred up the officials in the secretariate against him. An official named Iglesias joined in Schertzenlechner's intrigues, together with two others who, like him, were discontented with Eloin's somewhat abrupt and offhand manner. Maximilian let himself be drawn into a discussion with Schertzenlechner and Iglesias about the Belgian's injustice, in the

course of which Schertzenlechner brought such charges against him that the Emperor lost his temper and exclaimed: "Don't tell lies!"

Naturally, this did not go on for long, and Eloin heard of all that had taken place. He too had had enough of it by now, and ventilated his grievances against Schertzenlechner. The two of them, if we are to believe the accounts of an eyewitness, "abused each other like pickpockets" in the Emperor's prescence.[98] The Emperor was furious, and when Schertzenlechner offered his resignation, at once accepted it. Schertzenlechner resigned all his honours and dignities, and returned his order of Our Lady of Guadalupe, saying that he would never wear it again. Loysel, the chief of the military cabinet, who had been informed of these doings, followed the further developments of the affair with interest, for the influence of the Belgian Eloin and the Austrian Schertzenlechner had for a long time been a thorn in the flesh of the Frenchman, and the reserve displayed by the Emperor towards everything French was ascribed chiefly to their Francophobia, although it arose chiefly from Maximilian's endeavour to follow King Leopold's advice and flatter the susceptibilities of the Mexicans.

There was jubilation in the whole of the imperial Court at Schertzenlechner's departure. "Bombelles is reviving," wrote Frau von Kuhacsevich, "for the great Moo is gone, who used to watch him. . . . It is the greatest luck for the Emperor that he is gone, he says so himself; whether things can still be set right as regards the Government, I do not know." [99]

Schertzenlechner, who had formerly done all he possibly could to persuade the Emperor to confer a barony and the title of Excellency upon him, behaved in the most vulgar way now that he had fallen into disgrace. He first declared that he would not come to Chapultepec, though the Emperor had sent for him; next, early on the morning of February 20, he suddenly wrote informing the French commandant of the city

[98] Lieutenant-Colonel Schaffer, Commandant of the Palace, to Radonetz, Chapultepec, February 20, 1865. V. N. A.

[99] Frau von Kuhacsevich to Frau Radonetz, Chapultepec, February 27, 1865. V. N. A.

that seven thousand Indians, hearing of his grievances and disgrace, had declared for his cause and were marching on the capital. The French commandant communicated this amazing piece of news to the Emperor. Maximilian at once dispatched a commission, consisting of the court marshal, his chief aide-de-camp, General Woll, and Count Bombelles, who drew up a statement on the subject with Schertzenlechner and looked through his papers.[100] Naturally nothing was found; it was nothing but a ridiculous vagary arising out of a blind desire for revenge. Schertzenlechner was threatened with a court-martial for spreading alarmist rumours. But the Emperor pardoned him, and provided that he should be forced to return to Europe with the title and salary (nine thousand gulden) of a counsellor of state. It was granted that he should live at Lacroma; he was assured of free maintenance there, and was even given leave to take with him a certain red-haired lady for whom he displayed an obvious weakness. The fact that such extensive favours were granted to a man who had behaved so badly must be ascribed to the fact that the Emperor Maximilian was afraid of indiscretions. Schertzenlechner had been entirely in his confidence, particularly in the matter of the secret protest against the Family Pact, which he had had to sign as a witness on the *Novara*. The fellow kept insisting that in these circumstances the Emperor would yet have to abase himself before him. He therefore remained stubborn, and declared that he would accept neither the pension nor the permission to live at Lacroma. He wanted "*nada*" (nothing), as he put it, till the stain upon his honour should be wiped out.

The Emperor was enraged, and made the court marshal write him a very severe letter, in which he said, among other things, that, in alluding to the stains upon his honour, he ought to remember that, though a counsellor of state of the Mexican Empire, he still continued to draw the pension of an Austrian court lackey. He ought to ask himself whether that was compatible with his new dignity. Schertzenlechner received his dismissal, but in spite of this the Emperor found himself obliged

[100] This account is taken from a letter of Lieutenant-Colonel Schaffer to Radonetz, Chapultepec, February 20, 1865. V. N. A.

to write a conciliatory letter to his former secretary before his departure.[101]

On the next day, without answering the letter, Schertzenlechner left for Europe. Eloin had triumphed for the moment, but the whole affair had damaged him in the Emperor's eyes, and, moreover, he had powerful enemies at the French headquarters. He had not intrigued against the French much at first, but now, when he saw how they hated him, he too became more hostile, and therefore did nothing to improve the relations between the Emperor and Bazaine. The Empress exerted herself to smooth away all dissensions, and managed that King Leopold should confer upon Bazaine the Grand Cross of his Order of Leopold. Charlotte accompanied the bestowal of this Order with a letter, in which she said that she had no need to send him a wreath of laurels, for he had already plucked them all himself.[102]

The allusion was to a victory obtained by the marshal shortly beforehand in the south. General Porfirio Diaz had established himself in Oaxaca with a strong force of Juarista troops. The French General Brincourt had already made all preparations for attacking him, when suddenly orders came out from Mexico City temporarily to suspend the operations, which had offered every prospect of success. Bazaine himself assumed the command of the troops, had roads constructed at great expense, transported a great mass of siege artillery into the south, and finally marched on Oaxaca with reinforcements of 5000 men. Porfirio Diaz surrendered on February 9 with 4000 men and 60 pieces of artillery, but Bazaine's laurels had been won at the cost of vast sums, which were a fresh shock to the Mexican finances.

The Emperor Maximilian had stood firm with regard to the Church question. On February 26, 1865 the decree was promulgated providing for liberty of worship and the revision of the sales of Church property.[103] When the bishops protested

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[101] The Emperor Maximilian to Schertzenlechner, Chapultepec, February 22, 1865. V. N. A.

[102] The Empress Charlotte to Marshal Bazaine, February 14, 1865. V. N. A.

[103] The decree is printed in full in Domenech, op. cit., III. 318.

against the decree, Maximilian published a sharp attack on them. Though he could not fail to realize that the execution of the decree, which entirely ignored the claims of the Pope and the nuncio, must have a bad effect upon his relations with Rome, he once again attempted to arrive at a compromise and sent an extraordinary mission to Rome, consisting of the minister Velazquez de León, Bishop Ramirez, and Degollado, a counsellor of state, in order to persuade the Curia to conclude a concordat. Since they would scarcely have undertaken the mission if they had known of the impending publication of this decree, their departure was so arranged that they were already on the high seas when it appeared.[104]

It is scarcely conceivable how Maximilian could have hoped that the Curia would take his side against the nuncio, especially as he was complaining bitterly to Rome about the nuncio's proceedings. In his allocution of March 27 the Pope merely expressed the hope that the Emperor would in the end consent to abandon the unfortunate course upon which he had embarked, and comply with the desires and demands of the Church. At the same time the nuncio was recalled, so that he might not have to look on with impotent horror at the spoliation of the Church. The Emperor Maximilian had hoped that the dispatch of a commission with conciliatory proposals would in itself check any further severe measures. He therefore expressed his surprise to the diplomatic corps at the latest steps on the part of the Curia. For the rest, he said to himself, he would commend himself to God and emancipate himself from the clergy.

Maximilian had an exhaustive account of the progress of events up to date drawn up by the minister Ramirez, which he sent to various quarters in Europe. He even sent a copy to the Archduke Karl Ludwig in Vienna, informing him of the whole of the negotiations with the papal nuncio, who, as the Emperor insisted,[105] had behaved in an " incredible " fashion,

[104] This fact is taken from an account by the Empress Charlotte of a conversation between the Emperor Maximilian and General Douay, July 9, 1865. V. N. A.
[105] The Emperor Maximilian to the Archduke Karl Ludwig, Mexico, February 11, 1865. V. N. A.

and gone hopelessly wrong owing to his "insincere and outworn diplomacy." "If," he added, "as I expect, the proceedings of my Government are much calumniated in ultramontane Europe, and these slanders, as is very possible, reach Mamma's ears and make her anxious, I beg you to show her this fully documented account."

The nuncio left Mexico, in accordance with his orders from Rome, and betook himself to Guatemala, where the President, General Carrera, who was well-disposed towards the Church, had died on April 14; this was a heavy blow to French policy and to Maximilian, who saw his project for winning over Central America imperilled by it. Maximilian shed no tears over this "stiff-necked priest, with his brusque, hot-tempered, and not very diplomatic ways." [106] He had another conversation with the nuncio on Easter Sunday after mass, and declared to him that he was a good Catholic, a better one than many other sovereigns.

And now another trouble arose. In November 1864 the Emperor Francis Joseph had submitted the Family Pact concluded at Miramar to the Austrian Reichsrat, without previous notice to his brother, thus making it known to the public. Not content with composing on his voyage to Mexico the protest to which we have alluded above, at the end of 1864 Maximilian had instructed Hidalgo [107] to have a protocol drawn up on "this lamentable proceeding," together with Frossard and Herbet, the witnesses of the "pressure" brought to bear on him to "extort his signature"; for he considered that this might be "of the greatest use" for the future. This was yet another step towards attacking the validity of the pact. The publication of it was therefore a most unwelcome surprise to Maximilian, and he was indignant at its having been done behind his back. He felt it all the more keenly since, in view of the difficult situation and his nerve-racking controversies with the clergy, he had often discussed with his wife the question whether he might not do best to give up the enterprise in Mexico and return to Austria. Beside himself with rage, he

[106] The Emperor Maximilian to Ramirez, June 10, 1865; draft in V. N. A.
[107] The Emperor Maximilian to Hidalgo, June 27, 1864; draft in V. N. A.



COLLECTION OF PORTRAITS OF THE MOST PROMINENT ACTORS IN THE TRAGIC HISTORY OF THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS OF MEXICO

1. *Almonte.* 2. *Bishop Labastida.* 3. *Eloin.* 4. *Castillo.* 5. *Count Thun.* 6. *Gutierrez.* 7. *Miramón.* 8. *Bazaine.* 9. *Iglesias.* 10. *Forey.* 11. *Vidaurri.* 12. *Mejía.* 13. *Ramirez.* 14. *Mendez.* 15. *Lopez.* 16. *Escobedo.* 17. *Doblado.* 18. *Zaragoza.* 19. *Juarez.* 20. *Osman Bey.* 21. *Ortega.* 22. *Santa Anna.* 23. *Alatorre.*

wrote to Hidalgo that what the Paris newspapers said was untrue, that his family had stripped him of his most sacred personal rights, so much so that if his father — who had always been opposed to the pact — were to die without making a will, his own son Maximilian would get nothing. If things went on like this, added the Emperor bitterly, he might even be forced in the end to publish documents which would give persons in exalted quarters cause to blush.[108]

The Emperor Maximilian first showed his annoyance by his treatment of the Austrian Minister, who had to send home to Vienna the mortifying intelligence that, on the rare occasions when he was able to approach the Emperor at all, the latter spoke to him only of indifferent matters.[109] But the Emperor did not let matters rest at that. He had a sharp attack upon the publication of the Family Pact inserted in his semi-official organ, *L'Ère nouvelle,* in which it was suggested that it would have been wiser to draw a veil over this transaction, the validity of which was contested by the most able jurists from both the legal and the constitutional point of view.

At the same time Maximilian sent an official note of protest to the Courts of Brussels, Rome, London, and Paris, besides Vienna, in which it is worthy of special note that he accused his brother of having been the person upon whose initiative the throne of Mexico had been offered him. This was a distortion of the fact that the Emperor Francis Joseph, on receiving the original inquiry from Paris on the subject, had sent Count Rechberg to Miramar with the first notification of it. The document further dealt with the pressure brought to bear upon Maximilian, and the fact that he would never take cognizance of the pact. Finally it was stated that none but the *representatives of the countries,* with the sanction of the two sovereigns, should have had the power to conclude such an agreement.

The four Courts were embarrassed as to what to do with this controversial document. The Austrian Ambassador, Prince Metternich, asked Napoleon III for a public disclaimer of

[108] The Emperor Maximilian to Hidalgo, May 28, 1865. V. N. A.
[109] Count Thun to Count Mensdorff, April 28, 1865. V. N. A.

this "unheard-of step on the part of the Emperor Maximilian." [110] Napoleon replied that he had ordered his ministers to treat the Emperor's act as if it had not happened, but he asked that the Emperor Francis Joseph should do nothing, in his justifiable annoyance, that might make his brother's delicate position still more difficult. The Mexican Minister in Vienna omitted to hand in the note of protest, under the pretext of his absence on a journey to Saxony, and he described to the Emperor Maximilian in a dispatch the grave consequences which its reception might have involved, for it might have led to the rupture of all connexion between Maximilian and his august family. If the Emperor Maximilian did not approve his minister Murphy's action, the latter would have to send in his resignation.

It had naturally not escaped the notice of Vienna that Maximilian had lodged a protest at the other courts; but it was now believed that the Emperor Max had purposely acted behind Francis Joseph's back. Opinion was still further embittered by the fact that a "Venetian letter" had been printed in *L'Ère nouvelle* full of hatred for Austria on account of conditions in Austrian Venetia, which was at the moment the most vulnerable point in the body politic of the Monarchy; it lashed the "tyranny" with which that province was governed, and alleged that all those who could were fleeing across the Italian frontier.

This led to a violent reaction in Vienna. The Emperor Francis Joseph saw his fears realized. Count Mensdorff, in a private letter to Count Thun,[111] expressed his indignation at "such a scandal in the public press."

By the end of April it was already common talk that it would come to a rupture of diplomatic relations between the two brothers' empires. The Austrian Government also threatened to withdraw the pledges given in the Emperor's autograph letters, besides the promise of recruits for the Austrian Legion, if Maximilian did not modify his conduct.

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[110] Prince Metternich to Count Mensdorff, February 19 and March 2, 1865. V. N. A.

[111] Count Mensdorff to Count Thun, February 27, 1865. V. N. A.

Count Thun was instructed, in view of this "very imprudent step" on the part of the Emperor Maximilian, to speak to him firmly and vigorously, so that he should not again depart from the correct attitude which ought to have been prescribed to him if only by consideration for his brother, the Emperor Francis Joseph.[112]

By the time several letters had crossed the Atlantic, the protest fell into oblivion, but the Emperor's position in Mexico was not strengthened by this episode. The Juaristas seized the welcome opportunity of proclaiming that it was now clear as daylight that Maximilian regarded his sovereignty over Mexico only as a stage on the way to another and higher position, which happened not to be free for the moment. On the other hand, in view of the Emperor's attitude, the monarchists could not deny that this consideration was of some weight.

All these bad reports which arrived from Mexico at the end of February were embarrassing to Napoleon, and he took pains to keep them strictly secret.[113] On February 15 he announced, in his address on the opening of the Chambers, that the new throne in Mexico was becoming firmly established; that the country was being restored to peace and beginning to develop its vast resources. But the state of affairs was now described very differently in the letters of the Mexican Emperor and Empress. Napoleon's request to Rome that the Pope should cause Maximilian no embarrassment was disregarded, and dissension had flared up again over the Family Pact. The Empress Eugénie was in great and constant anxiety on account of the nuncio's attitude, but Monsignore Chigi, the papal representative in Paris, managed to calm her by explaining that Monsignore Meglia only desired to appear so black at the beginning in order to become gradually whiter; that is to say, more accommodating.[114] The Empress Charlotte's recent letters had, however, informed her of an improvement; she attempted to set the latter's mind at rest by mentioning the fact that she

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[112] Count Mensdorff to Count Thun, February 27, 1865. V. N. A.

[113] Prince Metternich to Count Mensdorff, February 19, 1865. V. N. A.

[114] The Empress Eugénie to the Empress Charlotte, Tuileries, January 29, 1865; original in V. N. A.

and her husband were doing all they could to persuade the Curia to conclude a concordat.[115]

Napoleon seemed at first not unsatisfied with Maximilian's drastic solution of the question of the Church property.[116] He congratulated him upon the energy he had displayed in the matter, which must be redoubled, now that he had arrived at a decision, in order to ensure that this decision should be carried into effect. This time he also consented to Maximilian's special requests. He had instructions sent to Bazaine that he must not reduce the expeditionary force for the present, placed Loysel at the Emperor's disposal with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and, as regards questions of military seniority, provided that French officers should take precedence of Mexicans only when they enjoyed at least equal rank. But he at once weakened this latter concession by the advice that mixed units should always be so composed that there should be a Frenchman of high enough rank to have the command, since French officers would not be ready to obey Mexicans. The constant attacks upon Bazaine had had this much success with the Emperor, that he too considered that the troops were scattered too widely over such a vast territory, to which circumstance he ascribed the numerous small reverses which had taken place here and there.

Moreover, the progress of the War of Secession, in which the balance was inclining more and more in favour of the Northern States, had made Napoleon uneasy. But he clung to the idea that the war would last for a long time yet, and that, whatever form the peace might take, the United States would hesitate to challenge France and England. His soothing remarks were only meant to reassure Maximilian. In reality the Emperor saw the complete victory of the Northern States approaching irresistibly, and with it the danger that must arise for his rash adventure overseas, against which French public opinion began to express itself more and more vehemently.

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[115] The Empress Eugénie to the Empress Charlotte, Tuileries, March 1, 1865; original in V. N. A.

[116] Napoleon III to the Emperor Maximilian, March 1, 1865. V. N. A.

Even the Empress's enthusiasm and joy at her handiwork, which had started so finely, began visibly to decline. She made no attempt to defend herself against her consort's reproaches and the critical voices raised among the representatives of the French people. She was very sensitive to all unfavourable news from Mexico, and the Empress Charlotte's letters caused her the greatest embarrassment. Her annoyance vented itself upon Charlotte personally; she considered that she expressed herself too vehemently in the matter of the concordat, and had been too brusque with the nuncio.[117] Moreover, she did not comply with Charlotte's request for the removal of Lieutenant-Colonel Boyer, the head of Bazaine's clerical staff, and used every kind of pretext to justify this refusal.[118] Eugénie declared Bazaine to be one of the best soldiers whom France possessed; he would certainly not risk anything that might affect the honour of France, but even he could not protect every point in such a great empire, and hence partial revolts were unavoidable.[119] The Empress of the French granted that she might appear too optimistic to Charlotte, but she asserted that one was bound to be a little optimistic, for difficulties increased or decreased according to the face put upon things by those in high places. But these were her sentiments only in letters intended for Charlotte; in reality she had already lost much of her optimism in Mexican affairs.

The growing burden of responsibility which she had taken upon herself by her advocacy of this hazardous enterprise grew in proportion as the War of Secession took a more and more unfavourable turn for the South, as the difficulties in Mexico increased, and the cause became more and more unpopular in France. And so the Mexican Emperor and Empress began gradually to lose their most powerful friend and support in Paris.

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[117] Prince Metternich to Count Mensdorff, February 16, 1865. V. N. A.

[118] The Empress Eugénie to the Empress Charlotte, Tuileries, March 1, 1865; original in V. N. A.

[119] The same to the same, Tuileries, without date, written between March 1 and April 1, 1865; original in V. N. A.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BEGINNING OF THE DECLINE

Bazaine's optimism — Unfavourable military situation at the beginning of 1865 — Financial anxieties — A reproachful letter from Napoleon — Hidalgo's true nature — Maximilian under the tutelage of Bazaine — Victory of the Northern States in the War of Secession — Maximilian appeals to Napoleon and King Leopold to avert the danger — Bazaine's marriage — Charlotte describes the bride to Eugénie — Crisis in the imperial secretariate about Eloin — Gutierrez hears some unpleasant truths — Eloin's mission in Europe — General Douay as Bazaine's rival — Santa Anna changes his mind — The pact with the Iturbide famliy — Binding pledges and speeches — Father Fischer appears — His mission to Rome — The ruthless decree of October 3, 1865 — Napoleon and Bazaine — Anonymous letters — The Empress Charlotte's journey to Yucatan — Napoleon begins to back out — The Empress Eugénie follows — Deaths of Palmerston and King Leopold — Napoleon recommends an Austrian army for Mexico — Maximilian's plain speaking — It produces a merely negative effect.

THANKS TO HIS CONTINUED VICTORIES AND THE CONquest of considerable tracts of territory, Bazaine had come to take an over-optimistic view of the military situation.

At the beginning he had repeatedly expressed the opinion to General Douay that by the end of 1864 everything would be over, and the armies could leave Mexico.[1] The marshal knew that his supreme war-lord and the whole of France were longing for the return of the armies, and for this very reason had sent home a brigade at the end of 1864.

But the Juaristas kept forming up again in the north and east, and every place evacuated by the French was at once reoccupied by Juarista troops, who indulged in the most cruel reprisals against the imperial functionaries and their adherents. But still the marshal stood firm. He kept saying that reinforcements were on the way. At the end of the year 1864 six thousand Austrian volunteers did indeed arrive under General Count Thun, and twelve hundred Belgian legionaries under Lieutenant-Colonel Van der Smissen. They had been hastily recruited and organized and equipped, and could therefore not be compared with the regular French regiments. Yet among both the officers and the men there were many excellent elements, which were by no means inclined to stand such treatment from the French as the Mexican troops had often had to submit to, to their great chagrin and also to the great detriment of the cause.

On taking up his duties, General Count Thun wrote to Marshal Bazaine[2] that he requested that their mutual relations might be placed upon such a footing as was usual between the armies of two allied powers. Bazaine was unwilling to concede this separation of commands, so that relations between the two detachments and the French expeditionary force were strained from the very beginning. This was further intensified by national factors and incidents which occurred on campaign, and the clashes arising from this became a fresh source of anxiety for the Emperor.

Bazaine's favourable reports upon the military situation in Mexico were bound to produce a false impression upon Napoleon, for in reality it was by no means good. Fresh Juarista bands kept springing up on all sides, and the population often

[1] General Douay to the Emperor Maximilian, July 9, 1865.

[2] General Count Thun to Bazaine, January 1, 1865; Gaulot, op. cit., II. 81.

made common cause with them. Every time the imperialist troops occupied a fresh place, the population stood aloof anxiously and distrustfully, for they might well dread the revenge of the Juaristas as soon as the French had withdrawn. When the imperialist troops consisted of Mexicans, they often proved untrustworthy if employed alone. The Liberals who had stayed in Mexico City betrayed all that they could learn about the movements of the French in the capital to their partisans.

From Chihuahua, whither he had long since returned, Juarez proudly issued a manifesto in which he proclaimed to the Mexican nation that the day of triumph was at hand. The republican spirit, which was reviving on all sides, was opposed by scarcely more than twenty-seven thousand French soldiers, tired out and incessantly harassed, besides the two inexperienced and unacclimatized legions, and a varying number of more or less trustworthy Mexican detachments. The fresh operations which were constantly required involved heavy expenditure. The capture of Oaxaca alone — which, as those behind the scenes, and the Emperor and Empress among them, knew, was quite unnecessary — had cost vast sums, and so the Mexican Treasury would certainly be unable to meet its remaining financial obligations, and, above all, the claims of France.

Maximilian was in despair when he found himself faced with this discouraging turn of affairs. He attributed it chiefly to the marshal, who squandered money " constantly and lightheartedly," and often involved the Government in unnecessary and costly enterprises. Thus, as Maximilian declared, the proceeds of the first loan, scanty as they were, had almost all been absorbed by military expenditure.[8]

Owing to Bazaine's invariably favourable reports, opinion in Paris was not altogether clear about the situation. It was now seen that, far from receiving any financial advantages, or even full compensation from Mexico, fresh sums would constantly have to be paid out. Fould, the Minister of Finance, and the Corps Législatif raised vigorous complaints on the subject, and pressed Napoleon for redress. All the blame was ascribed to the Mexican finance department and there was an

[8] The Emperor Maximilian to Bourdillon, March 10, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

agitation for French officials to control the financial administration and reduce it to order. Maximilian had imprudently asked for some. He was to get more of them than he wanted.

In March 1865 the collection of the customs was entrusted to French officials, who were met with passive resistance from the Mexicans wherever feasible. Bonnefond, a French inspector of finance, was given provisional control of the Ministry of Finance, though he was not a member of the Mexican civil service, except in a semi-official capacity as an irresponsible adviser. This impossible state of affairs had lasted for eight months, and was most painful for Maximilian, in view of his people's feelings. Next came a financial ultimatum from Paris, which ear-marked the greater part of a newly-projected loan for the French claims from the outset, though it was the only possible source of immediate relief. It further made French officials solely responsible for the control and collection of customs at all the ports on the Atlantic and Pacific — that is to say, the only really productive customs-houses in the Empire; the officials were to administer these revenues "on account of the Mexican State." [4] It was only in certain circumstances that Bazaine was empowered, in case of absolute necessity, to hand over a little money to the Emperor Maximilian; that is to say, as Napoleon stated more precisely, at most two millions a month. By putting the Emperor into these financial thumbscrews, Napoleon desired "to impose a settlement of all France's claims in connexion with the debt." [5] Thus he delivered Maximilian up helpless into the hands of Marshal Bazaine, for without control of the Empire's financial resources, which were already meagre enough, there could be no question of independent control of the business of government.

The floating of the new loan was next proceeded with in Paris at the cost of Mexico, with the main object of filling French pockets. Since the French Government had the greatest interest in a favourable result, it did all it could to promote subscriptions. Corta the deputy delivered a brilliant speech, in

[4] Gaulot, op. cit., II. 91.

[5] Ibid., II. 104; Napoleon to Bazaine, March 15, 1865.

which he described the general situation and the boundless wealth of Mexico so convincingly and in such high-flown terms that, in spite of its antipathy for the Mexican cause, the public allowed itself to be dazzled, and even over-subscribed the loan. There was a fresh issue of 250,000,000 francs, and so, quite apart from its remaining obligations with regard to the first loan, the Mexican State debt was increased by more than half a milliard, an unprecedented sum for those times, to meet the interest of which more than half the available revenues of the Empire would be required.

Napoleon seized the occasion of the issue of this loan, negotiated under strong pressure from the French Government, to follow up the drastic financial measures which he had taken with regard to Mexico with a grave admonition to Maximilian.[6] He wrote to the Emperor that he must repeat that the financial question took precedence of all others, and was worthy of his full attention. Out of the proceeds of the new loan, 110,000,000 francs would be placed at his disposal, which must be administered with the greatest economy. Napoleon alluded with displeasure to the opposition met with by the French collectors from the customs officials at the ports, the chief sources of revenue. If they were not allowed to exercise strict control, the Mexican State Treasury would continue to be robbed. He could not understand by what fatality it happened that the most important measures were always postponed and combated. "*Mexico,*" wrote the Emperor of the French, "*owes its independence and its present Government to France,* yet it seems as though some mysterious influence were constantly at work to prevent the French officials from devoting themselves to the welfare of the country; even our just claims are not always treated with consideration. The commission charged with examining the claims of our nationals to compensation is working at a desperately slow rate, and with an ill will which the English do not meet with." In this communication Napoleon also declared himself to be opposed to the revision of the sales of Church property. He declared that these

[6] The Emperor Napoleon to the Emperor Maximilian, Tuileries, April 16, 1865; original in V. N. A.

measures wasted time and unduly delayed the settlement of the question. The letter was from first to last one long indictment of the administration of the Mexican finances, since the financial advantages hoped for by France had not been forthcoming. By reserving to themselves more than half the proceeds of the new loan those in Paris had safe-guarded themselves, at least for the time being. It would have been a good thing if, instead of confining himself to admonishing Maximilian to be economical, Napoleon had seen to it that in Paris the issue and allotment of the loan, and the matter of commissions, had been arranged on a more economical basis. Meanwhile, of the proposed 250,000,000 francs, only 170,000,000 had actually been subscribed,[7] of which a far smaller sum than the 110,000,000 francs mentioned by Napoleon — namely, only about 70,000,000 — were placed at the disposal of the Mexican State.

Thus the Mexican State again received only a small and dwindling fraction of the sum raised. The apparent support lent by Paris was really calculated to bring about the financial bankruptcy of Mexico; a few French bankers enriched themselves, innumerable private citizens in France lost their money, and, in view of the insecure conditions of the country, which precluded all possibility of a productive increase of taxation, it was impossible for the Mexican Government to extricate itself from this financial chaos. Moreover, Bonnefond was not the right man in the right place; sickly and thin-skinned, he kept delaying the drawing up of a budget, though Maximilian asked him to prepare one; and he declined to take office as a minister, in order to remain independent and keep a free hand, in which he met with the approval of Napoleon and Fould, the French Minister of Finance.[8]

Maximilian turned anxiously to Loysel, the head of his military cabinet. "Without a budget, we are groping our way forward like blind men, and a moment will arrive when

[7] The nominal value of the bonds was 500 francs; they bore interest at the rate of 6% and were issued at 340.

[8] Napoleon to the Emperor Maximilian, Tuileries, April 16, 1865; original in V. N. A.

we can advance no farther." [9] The wretched Bonnefond must at last submit his plan.

These financial conditions greatly hampered both the government and the pacification of the country, and the difficulty was increased by the fact that in the reorganization of the Mexican army, which was at first entrusted to a commission with Bazaine as president, experiments were made at large, discontent was aroused by the non-confirmation of certain titles, and units were broken up, decrees issued, and new units formed so indiscriminately that no thorough organization was possible. It also produced a harmful effect when the Mexican detachments formed in the course of these measures were at once used for active service against the Juarista counter-movements, so that they had no time to consolidate their organization. Considerable differences of opinion soon sprang up between the Emperor and the marshal upon the question of army organization. Bazaine's attitude on this question was in many respects decidedly mysterious. It looked as if he were secretly anxious lest, if the Emperor were at the head of a well-organized army, he would not be so much in Bazaine's hands as he was then, when troops and money were at Bazaine's sole disposal. The Emperor Maximilian had originally asked that General Brincourt or d'Hérillier should be placed at his disposal for the reorganization of the Mexican army. But Bazaine would not hear of these adherents of General Douay, and guessed that a secret plan of Maximilian's lay behind it; for the marshal already felt or knew that the sooner he was out of Mexico, the better the Emperor would be pleased. But Loysel, by an understanding with Bazaine, declined the function proposed to him, for he preferred to remain at the head of the military cabinet, where he could interfere more with the control of affairs. He proposed another officer, but this one did not meet with Bazaine's favour either, so that at last Maximilian entrusted to the Austrian General Count Thun the organization of a brigade which should serve as a model for the remaining brigades of the Mexican army which were to be formed. This was not at all to Bazaine's taste, and he

[9] The Emperor Maximilian to Loysel, May 13, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

took the choice of the Austrian as a personal insult. The marshal came to regard himself as Maximilian's guardian, and even requested before long that he might have the right of entrusting French generals with the supervision of political and administrative affairs.[10]

Maximilian's independence was being gradually undermined, though he made painful efforts to keep up his dignity in spite of all. As he saw that he would no longer obtain adequate support from Paris, he began to attribute the blame for all that went wrong to the French officials and officers. His grudge against Bazaine grew as the marshal's power and influence increased. He began to be more reserved towards Hidalgo, his minister in Paris, who did not appear to represent the interests of Mexico adequately.

Maximilian gradually discovered that Hidalgo had material interests at stake, and that it was to these interests that his zealous advocacy of the foundation of a Mexican monarchy was due. In August 1862 Hidalgo's father had been declared a traitor to his country by a decree of Juarez; and was punished by the confiscation of his *haciendas*. Up till then the Hidalgo family had drawn from them an income of some sixty thousand francs, which was lost to them by the confiscation. Young Hidalgo and his sister, who lived a life of luxury among the best society of the Second Empire, were finally forced to sell their house in Paris, squandered their remaining property, and at last ran into debt. As early as May 1863 Hidalgo had asked Napoleon for help, and the Emperor instructed first General Forey and then Bazaine to draw up an estimate of Hidalgo's and his sister's losses in Mexico, and pay them a corresponding sum. The generals did indeed arrange that the *haciendas* should be restored to their lawful owners, but Hidalgo and his sister preferred to live safely in Paris, even after Maximilian had assumed the government. None the less the Emperor sent them a sum of money on his own initiative in order that they might pay these debts, which they alleged to have been left them by Hidalgo's father.

[10] The Emperor Maximilian to Loysel, Perote, June 3, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

The son now wrote to Eloin [11] that this sum was not sufficient; the *haciendas* had been restored to him, but they had been devastated, and brought in no revenue. The damages amounted to a hundred thousand piastres, which ought to be made good to him. On certain conditions he would sell the *haciendas* to the Government, and so on. Maximilian regarded this as veiled extortion; he was also displeased at Hidalgo's dispute with the first secretary of the Paris Legation, Fernando Gutierrez, son of old Gutierrez, who also remained at a prudent distance from Mexico. Hidalgo had indeed complained that the young man spied out for his father all that went on; [12] he was already known as "the amateur spy"; he was, moreover, lacking in judgment, and no good.

In material matters, moreover, the Gutierrez family were quite as bad as Hidalgo. They too had, at their own request, had their former estates restored to them. On hearing, probably through Fernando, of Hidalgo's request for money to discharge his debts, Loreto Gutierrez, the daughter of the old "creator" of the Mexican monarchy, hastened to write a letter to the Empress Charlotte — for the old gentleman was glad to put his children forward in such a quarter — containing a request for similar relief. The kind-hearted Maximilian, who felt a certain gratitude to Gutierrez, looked into these requests.

Thus the seeds of doubt were sown in Maximilian's mind as to the trustworthiness of these persons of whose honourable sentiments he had hitherto been convinced; but he continued to repose full confidence in Napoleon, in spite of the fact that he was Emperor of the French, and that, in his anxiety for his reputation as the protector of liberalism, and his fear of possible opposition as regards the Mexican question from the Corps Législatif and French public opinion, he had ordered, or at any rate sanctioned, all the measures which were causing Maximilian such trouble. Nor did Maximilian appear to notice that the tone of Napoleon's letters was growing less cordial, and that his "counsels" were beginning to resemble

[11] Hidalgo to Eloin, January 15, 1865. V. N. A.
[12] The same to the same, May 1, 1865. V. N. A.

orders. He reckoned upon the continuance of Napoleon's friendship, and the carrying out of the promises which he had made before Maximilian had consented to accept the crown. He sought the causes of the change in his relations with the French Court in anything rather than a modification of Napoleon's sentiments.

Moreover, Maximilian does not seem to have sufficiently realized at this time that he was as good as helpless without a strictly organized army of his own, welded together by obedience and discipline.

What was more, he was a foreigner, and as such had to overcome the opposition due to national sentiment even in persons well-disposed towards him. It was only as a soldier, supported by a strong armed force, that a man in Maximilian's position could have surmounted all the difficulties which were accumulating. Meanwhile he exhausted his strength by issuing innumerable well-meaning ordinances, bearing witness to his liberal spirit, but which he could not carry into effect owing to the absence of an executive power. But even if his provisions had come into force, instead of merely cumbering the archives, the ill will of the United States would ultimately have put a speedy end to his work.

Bazaine, the soldier possessing the requisite power to carry his ordinances into effect, was not working for his own ends, but still less for those of the Emperor Maximilian. He was a faithful servant of his master, and his heart was in France, which, as he knew, desired the return of him and his army. Such a man could not support Maximilian's interests in the way that was necessary for the maintenance of an empire built upon such uncertain ground from the outset.

Count Thun also met with opposition from Bazaine in his efforts at reorganization. Units were scarcely formed before they were ordered to face the foe, for the French marshal had the supreme command of all the fighting forces. Besides, as Maximilian wrote to Napoleon,[13] he had only a very limited confidence in Thun's capacity for organization — in short, his

[13] The Emperor Maximilian to Napoleon III, Chapultepec, December 27, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

efforts, too, remained for the most part on paper, and the precious time required for the formation of a strong and united army was slipping away.

All these anxieties, emotions, and exertions were not without their effect upon Maximilian's health, which was on the whole delicate. Even during his first tour, in the year 1864, he had been troubled with a somewhat alarming inflammation of the throat, and now, in March 1865, he was seized with a persistent influenza which lasted for four weeks. He had also intermittent symptoms of dysentery. The Emperor became thin and nervous, and his spirits often underwent sudden transitions from the greatest gaiety to the deepest depression. The Empress had a calmer disposition, and always endeavoured to support her husband to the utmost of her power in the fulfilment of his heavy responsibilities. The relations between husband and wife were irreproachable, but at times a curious formality and reserve made itself felt in their intercourse. Both of them suffered from the fact that the heirs they so much desired were denied them. Soon the Emperor and Empress began to give up all hope, and to take measures with a view to the succession.

In addition to all these cares, a grave danger from without began to menace the Mexican Empire in the course of the year 1865. During the winter and early spring of 1865 the balance had turned in favour of the North in the War of Secession. The superior forces of the North were pressing upon the South, in spite of all the valour displayed by the latter. 125,000 men were preparing for the spring campaign under Grant, against the 50,000 who were at Lee's disposal. The decisive moment was approaching. The army of the Southern States was becoming more and more disintegrated. The Austrian Minister in Washington, Baron Wydenbruck, followed matters with growing suspense, and estimated the probable consequences of the triumph of the Northern States. "It is certain," he wrote to Vienna,[14] "that the inexhaustible resources at the disposal of the American people have developed in an eminent degree its sense of its own power and of the part

[14] Baron Wydenbruck to Count Mensdorff, March 31, 1865. V. N. A.

reserved for it in the events of the world. The naval powers of Europe will in future have to reckon more and more with this proud and sensitive people." A feeling of satisfaction was now experienced in Vienna at the fact that they had not taken sides over the war in favour of the Southern States, but notified their minister in Washington that the Imperial Government would "maintain an attitude of aloofness" in the Mexican question, since it was a "purely personal" concern of Maximilian's.[15]

For the Mexican sovereign, however, the development of the War of Secession was a source of serious embarrassment. Mr. Seward refused to receive Arroyo, the imperialist consul-designate, stating that the United States made it a principle to have no official or private dealings with the "revolutionary agents" of a country with the "supreme authority" of which the United States were carrying on diplomatic and friendly relations. By the "supreme authority" they meant Juarez, to whom an American minister was accredited. This minister was not staying at whatever place Juarez might be occupying, for, since this changed with his success or failure, it seemed to him too insecure. He therefore stayed in his own country — though not far from the frontier — and maintained a waiting attitude, a sign that he had no very great confidence in Juarez's ultimate victory. In Paris, too, great anxiety was felt, but the Emperor and Empress hoped that the United States would hesitate to go to war with France, since in Napoleon's opinion this might only too easily involve them in further wars with England and Spain. All the same, the Emperor and Empress considered their Mexican enterprise to be in danger. Napoleon in particular, who would have been best pleased if the Mexican expedition had never happened, was deeply affected by the danger of such an incalculable war, and it was this danger which was responsible for his decisions with regard to Mexico.

The War of Secession was at an end. On April 2 Lee evacuated Richmond, and on the 9th he capitulated at Appomattox Court House. The Confederation ceased to exist. Nearly a million men had been killed or badly wounded, and the North

[15] See, for instance, the instructions to Count Giorgi of February 1, 1864 and to Baron Wydenbruck of February 11, 1865. V. N. A.

alone had spent three and a half milliard dollars. The pride of the victorious States was all the greater; they now had a free hand, a strong, experienced, and victorious army was at their disposal, and it had now to be realized that they would play a very different part from what they had done before in the destinies of the world and of neighbouring States.

The results of these developments were rendered more serious for Mexico by a terrible event which took place at the National Theatre at Washington on April 14, 1865. Abraham Lincoln, the President of the United States, was attending a performance that evening when the actor Booth, a fanatical partisan of the South, entered his box and shot the President in the neck with a revolver at close range. At the same time Seward was attacked at his residence and stabbed. Maximilian felt Lincoln's death very deeply, for he had hoped that it would be possible to reconcile him to the situation in Mexico.

A few days before his death Lincoln had said:[16] "I do not know what the nation wants; all I know is that there will be no more wars under my presidency." In Mexico there was every inclination to clutch at this straw, but now Lincoln's death annihilated even this hope. Whoever might now become president might be elated with victory and so take up a less favourable attitude towards Mexico. The Mexican monarchy was regarded as an evil heritage of the War of Secession. Juarez's troops were supported by American filibusters. The reports which were still current as to the cession of Sonora to France, and Gwyn's machinations, still further embittered public opinion in the United States.

These events in the neighbouring State were a heavy blow to Maximilian. He had just recovered his breath a little after his struggle with the nuncio, and, after the success of Oaxaca and a few other exploits, the military situation also seemed to have improved, so that towards the end of March he again wrote to his father-in-law in good spirits:[17] "We are advancing slowly, but I venture to say surely and well; I do not like jerks,

[16] Baron Wydenbruck to Count Mensdorff, April 28, 1865. V. N. A.

[17] The Emperor Maximilian to Leopold, King of the Belgians, Chapultepec, March 28, 1865; original in V. N. A.

but one is protected from such convulsions by the slow-moving, and I may say lazy, character of my people. Whereas in other countries the sovereign has to exert himself to curb his subjects and put on brakes, here, on the contrary, one needs to urge them on, and, even with the most energetic driving, one is sure not to upset. Still, things are going better than I at first hoped; the people are getting to take a pleasure in work and have confidence in the future; they begin to see that with consistency something can be made of them. The feeling of utter apathy is beginning to disappear. Opinion is settling down as regards the question of the Church property; they see — and even the bishops admit it — that Rome has made exaggerated demands. . . . As regards the administration, we have completed the main organization on a simpler and more practical basis and one more suited to the country. I am now busying myself energetically with the colonization question, which is so important for us; I have created a commission, half of Europeans, half of great Mexican landowners, which will take in hand the control of all questions concerning colonization, and bring forward proposals for the requisite measures and laws."

And now he was suddenly distracted from these improved internal conditions by the events in the north. It was not till now that he suddenly recognized the serious danger of a menace from the north, which was to be attributed not only to the anti-monarchical sentiment of the United States, but also to their striving for territorial expansion; for the United States had already acquired almost half the territory of Mexico. Thus the neighbourhood of an independent State with a national consciousness and a monarchical constitution was bound to be a thorn in the flesh to them. Juarez, at any rate, who, like Maximilian, desired a free Mexico, independent of the United States, maintained an attitude of reserve. He intended, that is to say, to use the United States as an ally against Maximilian, but to keep it at a distance as much as possible as soon as he had got rid of him.

The Emperor Maximilian had already started a fresh tour in the interior of the country, where he thought he could recognize good results from his reforms, when he received news

of the capitulation of the Confederate Army and, close upon it, of the murder of Lincoln. He at once determined to appeal to Napoleon and King Leopold, and to protect himself from the menace from the north to the best of his ability by guarantees from the European powers. With this object in view he determined to send to Europe an able confidential agent, entirely devoted to him personally, the choice of whom was suggested to him by the circumstances.

After Schertzenlechner's departure, Eloin, the head of the civil cabinet, had attempted to get the control of affairs into his own hands. Since the Schertzenlechner episode he no longer enjoyed the Emperor's full favour, but he had remained true to the sovereign and really represented his Emperor's interests and not those of France or any Mexican party. He upheld the independence of his Emperor's decisions and position against all comers, and this, aggravated by his stiff manner, caused him to be hated by all those who were endeavouring to use Maximilian as their puppet. Lieutenant-Colonel Loysel, for whom Maximilian had asked Napoleon on his own initiative as head of his military cabinet, remained primarily a Frenchman and a French officer; even in his new post he kept up the closest relations with Marshal Bazaine, and it was only secondarily that he felt himself to be the servant of his new master. The chief object of the intrigues of all those of French sympathies was the Belgian Eloin, who was accused in Paris of Francophobia, in Rome of free thought, and who was blamed for the fact that the Emperor governed in a liberal spirit. Both Bazaine and Loysel saw in him the man who was trying to keep all French influences away from the Emperor. At last Bazaine resolved to make representations to Maximilian through Loysel. It was these complaints, combined with the attitude which Eloin had taken up in the Schertzenlechner affair, which deprived him of the Emperor's full confidence. Moreover, Loysel managed skilfully to disseminate reports accusing Eloin of arrogating excessive power to himself, and it was this which determined Maximilian, who was very sensitive on this point, to remove him from his post in the usual fashion by sending him to Europe.

A good opportunity now offered itself. Eloin was entrusted with autograph letters from Maximilian to King Leopold and Napoleon III. The Belgian was to induce the Emperor of the French to take the lead in concerted action on the part of the European powers interested, in order to combat the budding desire of the United States for conquest. "For," wrote Maximilian to Napoleon, "the events on the northern frontier, and in the United States, are taking such a grave turn that my people desire to be officially reassured as to the support of the European powers upon which I reckon." [18]

Eloin was also provided with full powers for the negotiation of the financial questions to which Napoleon kept constantly recurring, and was to be the bearer of a request to King Leopold, a "true father and real friend," [19] as Maximilian called him, to use his endeavours with the powers in support of Maximilian's financial projects.

While the Emperor was engaged in his journey through Tlascala and Apam to Orizaba, the Empress at first stayed in the capital again. The events in the north produced a strong impression on her too, especially since she could observe their effect in the capital. The politicians who had not rallied to the Emperor now conceived the hope that it might prove possible to re-establish the republic by the aid of the United States.[20] Charlotte was of opinion that in Mexico they were so accustomed to changing the Government, or at any rate its form, every six months, that a certain weariness and apathy was already prevailing in the capital. It was not the clerical party, which had to regret the loss, not only of its property, but of its power, that now played the leading part, but the advanced Liberals; i.e., demagogy and "Juarismo," which represented the most abhorrent form of demagogy, since it aimed at no more nor less than "the shattering of Mexican nationality." But the Empress Charlotte still hoped that this party was

[18] The Emperor Maximilian to Napoleon III, Orizaba, April 30, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

[19] The Emperor Maximilian to King Leopold I, Orizaba, April 30, 1865; original in V. N. A.

[20] The Empress Charlotte to the Empress Eugénie, Mexico, April 27, 1865; copy in the Empress Charlotte's writing in V. N. A.

singing its swan song, and that the future was with the Indian races and the mestizos, as well as the hard-working middle class, which had so far been lacking, and was alone capable of forming a nation with which the immigrants could amalgamate. The Empress displayed astonishing activity and energy. Entirely convinced of her own ability, she also refused to admit that anything was impossible. Like Napoleon, she said that the word "impossible" does not exist in French. "If need arose, I would lead an army," she wrote. "Do not laugh at me! I have some experience of war, if only from seeing the guerrilla warfare that goes on in this country, and in case of need I would do great things!" [21]

The Emperor and Empress were at this time particularly interested in the status of the Indians. They saw themselves abandoned by the white population, both Liberal and Conservative, and reviled by the higher clergy, and so clung all the more to the Indians and the lower clergy. Maximilian repeatedly alluded to the "marked friendliness" of the lower clergy which he observed on his journey. "The latter," he wrote,[22] "are beginning to grasp the situation, and see that they will gain more from my honest government than from their despotic bishops. Thus I everywhere single out the parish priests, when I can, and attract them to me by a display of confidence. The best of them, however, are, and always will be, the *Indians;* I have just promulgated a new law for them, forming a council which shall go thoroughly and helpfully into their desires, complaints, and requirements. This measure seems to have made a very good impression in the whole country."

In this the Emperor must also have been influenced by King Leopold's predilection for the Indians. Leopold had no knowledge of Mexican conditions, but he kept returning to this point, and had already written to Maximilian on March 30 that he

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[21] The Empress Charlotte to Mme de Grünne, March 14, 1865. See Countess H. de Rainach-Foussemagne: *Charlotte de Belgique, impératrice du Mexique*, p. 230.

[22] The Emperor Maximilian to King Leopold, Hacienda de la Jalapilla, near Orizaba, May 12, 1865; original in V. N. A.

was greatly interested in the Indians, and that it seemed to him of peculiar importance to gain their adhesion.[23]

It did not occur to Maximilian that it was precisely the Indians and the lower clergy who had the least influence in the country, one might indeed say *none at all.* The more his sympathy turned to them, and the more he busied himself with their desires and troubles, the more he alienated the mighty ones of the land, and this at a time when grave dangers were arising from without, and Maximilian's one effective support — the Emperor Napoleon and his troops — threatened to fail him out of nervousness at the attitude of the United States.

At the end of May 1865 arrived Napoleon's letter of April 16, with its grave admonitions to Maximilian, who thanked Napoleon most cordially for his "amiable and kind letter" and his advice given as a "true friend."[24] But he also defended himself with perfect frankness. He argued that all his efforts in financial matters were frustrated by Bazaine, whose demands kept imposing fresh heavy sacrifices upon the State. The capture of Oaxaca, for instance, had cost ten million francs, whereas many soldiers stated that the city could have been taken in August by General Brincourt with only a thousand men. Corta was quite right in the remark he had once let drop before he left Mexico; namely, that Bazaine was the greatest spender (*"dépenseur"*) in the army. Bonnefond, the inspector of finances, still kept a free hand, and they could not make out what he was up to. There were no mysterious influences directed against France; Napoleon had no more trustworthy friend than the Emperor of Mexico, and the Mexican people would always be grateful to the Emperor of the French, and never forget what he had done for the country. All such reports were surely to be ascribed to the machinations of Rome or Vienna. The decree which he had issued about the Church property had displeased many, but the very fact that

[23] King Leopold to the Emperor Maximilian, March 30, 1865; original in V. N. A.

[24] The Emperor Maximilian to Napoleon III, May 26, 1865; copy in V. N. A. Printed in part by Ollivier, op. cit., VII. 523.

the two *most extreme* parties were dissatisfied with it he considered to be to his credit.

Napoleon had not yet received Maximilian's last alarming letter with regard to what had happened in North America. It always took six weeks for letters to arrive, and the progress of events nearly always made their contents entirely out of date.

The question of the Church property in Mexico was no longer the chief matter of interest, which was entirely absorbed by the events taking place in the United States.

The news that the Southern General Slaughter was intending to cross over into Mexican territory caused Bazaine to take precautions. Among other things, the marshal recommended that the territory of Mexico should be divided into three great military areas, which should be placed under the command of Generals Douay — whose return was impending, to Bazaine's chagrin — Castagny, and Count Thun.[25] He considered that by this means he would be better prepared to cope with the grave contingencies which might arise, since the unity of command would thus be preserved, and, in particular, Thun, the Austrian, would be placed under Bazaine's command. Maximilian did not examine this scheme very closely. His aim was to come to an understanding with the United States by diplomatic means. Here again, as in the question of the concordat, what he was aiming at was absolutely impossible.

It was in this spirit that the Emperor discussed a " political plan of campaign " regarding America with the French Minister Dano, whom he liked very much, and whose character he considered to be serious and kindly.[26] His idea was to seize the opportunity of the murder of Lincoln to write a letter of condolence to Johnson, the new President, in which he would offer to seek a common basis for the discussion of the incidents which might arise when refugees from the Southern States crossed the northern frontier of Mexico. But Mariano Degollado, who was sent to Washington with this letter, and arrived there in the middle of July, met with no better fortune

[25] Bazaine to the Emperor Maximilian, May 29, 1865; original in V. N. A.
[26] The Emperor Maximilian to Loysel, Puebla, June 9, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

than his predecessors. The President refused not only to receive him, but to receive the letter.

This fact, combined with the hint which was simultaneously sent out to the United States Minister in Paris, to the effect that the United States desired friendly relations with France, but would resolutely take up any challenge to war, was calculated to show Maximilian what he had to expect from the great republic in the north. But he would not give up hope of a reconciliation. He intended to go on making fresh attempts, and thought that in the end he would yet succeed in his task.

In France things were understood more justly, for Montholon sent plain, unvarnished reports from Washington, and while Maximilian was attempting to set his mind at rest about the future by delusive hopes, and was also deceived by inaccurate reports from the emissaries he sent to the United States, the French Government was informing the American Government, in response to their urgent requests,[27] that the recall of the expeditionary force had long since been decided upon, and would gradually be carried into effect.

The progress of events within the United States was by no means without its effect upon conditions in the interior of Mexico. For Juarez, who had his minister at Washington and obtained admirable reports from him as to the feeling about Mexico, they were a powerful incentive to a stubborn prosecution of his aims. Now that the United States had recovered, the republican party in Mexico counted upon their sympathy. Moreover the imperial Government, powerless, battling with obstacles of every kind, and divided against itself, was judged severely, though nobody failed to admit the Emperor Maximilian's goodwill and honest desire to make his country happy.

In Mexico, too, as elsewhere, the tendency was to rally to the stronger and more fortunate side. And now Juarez, though not yet superior in strength to Maximilian, was undoubtedly favoured by fortune. The end of the War of Secession brought him innumerable fresh adherents; opposition was blazing up again on all sides. Juarista bands were once more pervading the whole country, and had even made communications

[27] Count Drouyn de Lhuys to Marquis Montholon, August 17, 1865.

between Mexico and Vera Cruz unsafe. A few daring leaders even ventured within three miles of the capital, so that when the Emperor and Empress went on expeditions, they were at times in danger of falling into their hands.

In the north-east of the country, too, the partisans of Juarez had made such progress that Bazaine had at last to make up his mind to send expeditions into the provinces of Coahuila and Nuevo León, which had once more fallen almost entirely into the hands of the enemy, and also to Matamoros, which was being threatened. Bazaine did not take the command of these enterprises himself. A powerful magnet kept him in the capital. At the age of fifty-four the marshal had fallen in love with a young and lovely Mexican, and, although he had been a widower for only two years, set about his courtship in deadly earnest. Thus he almost forgot the danger which threatened from America, and had induced him to concentrate his forces towards the north, besides all the other troubles which threatened the Mexican Empire.

The Empress Charlotte, with her woman's keen instinct for such matters, had seen it coming for a long time, and made repeated allusions to it in her letters to the Empress Eugénie. When matters had advanced a certain distance, the marshal informed the Empress unofficially of his intention to marry, and asked her to give the Empress Eugénie full details about his future wife and her family.

"Doña Josefa Peña is seventeen years old," ran the Empress Charlotte's description of the marshal's future wife;[28] "she has a pretty face, extraordinary grace and simplicity, beautiful black hair, and a very expressive Spanish type of countenance. She is an only daughter; her mother is a widow; she belongs, they say, to a very good family, and is very well educated. She speaks French with a pure accent, and it is to her credit that, although she is the object of a marshal's attentions, and hence of those of the whole French army, she has not lost her naturalness for a moment. She did not seem to notice either the admiration of which she was the centre, or

[28] The Empress Charlotte to the Empress Eugénie, Chapultepec, March 28, 1865; copy in the Empress's handwriting in V. N. A.

the great future opening before her, though she seemed most enchanted when her future husband was at her side, which still further increased his enthusiasm; to tell the truth there is a very decided attraction, for the marshal has even begun to dance again, and gave us to understand that he had not missed a single habanera."

The Emperor Maximilian had taken a somewhat ironical view of this belated idyll of the marshal's, who was more than three times the age of his bride. "On Monday the 26th [of June]," he wrote to his brother,[29] "we have, alas, yet another great state entertainment at the palace in Mexico, the wedding between Marshal Bazaine and a charming girl of seventeen, who will do us credit in Europe by her beauty and amiability. In spite of his fifty-four years, the marshal is perfectly infatuated (*verliebt wie ein Gimpel*); may this hazardous conjugal happiness agree with him."

Maximilian hated all ceremonial, and at this wedding in particular felt no such friendly sentiments towards the person chiefly concerned as might have caused him to forget his antipathy for him. Moreover, he had to travel back from Puebla to Mexico City for the occasion, for he had not yet completed his tour of the eastern provinces, which he had undertaken in order to escape, for a time at least, from the incessant calls upon him and the conflicts and anxieties which kept frittering away his health, and in order to avoid the great heat in the capital, by his doctor's advice. It was also easier to carry out a change in the ministry in his absence, for some of the Liberal heads of departments were guilty of open treachery. But the new ministry was again composed almost entirely of Liberals.

The annoyances through which the Emperor had passed had also been increased by the state of his health. A liver complaint began to make itself felt, and at times caused him acute pain. The Empress feared that he was exhausting his strength in these labours of Sisyphus,[30] and that the military situation

[29] The Emperor Maximilian to the Archduke Karl Ludwig, Puebla, June 20, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

[30] The Empress Charlotte to the Empress Eugénie, Mexico, July 26, 1865; copy in the Empress Charlotte's writing in V. N. A.

would again cause him such anxiety that his health would suffer.

The Emperor's opinion of Marshal Bazaine's doings became more and more severe. It was, indeed, a false position for them both. The sovereign had no army; the army, with its marshal, depended upon a foreign emperor.[31] This and a fresh storm in his secretariate did not add to his comfort.

A number of disagreements had lately occurred between the sovereign and his civil cabinet. This situation was cleverly taken advantage of by Loysel, in concert with the marshal, to attack Eloin, the absent head of the civil cabinet. For although Eloin had been sent away on a special mission to Europe, he still remained its nominal head, and Bazaine and his instrument Loysel were bound to fear that, on his return, things would be the same as before. Loysel managed to persuade the sovereign that the civil cabinet was developing into a central government, though it had no rights or qualifications to do so. Maximilian, who remembered the painful events of the Schertzenlechner episode, now began really to feel that the cabinet did not suit him, for, as he said himself, his character was perhaps rather an unfortunate one. These differences went so far that the Emperor had the doors connecting his private apartments with those of the two cabinets walled up. Loysel was most astonished that his cabinet was also affected by this arrangement, and spoke his mind freely on the subject. But the Emperor replied that, besides his other bad qualities, he was so jealous of his independence — and that towards everybody — that even the Empress had the great tact not to come and disturb him at his work without having been expressly invited. She knew this weakness of his, and it was owing to the fact that she had adapted herself to it that the harmony between them had never been disturbed.

The Emperor's action was mainly due to his growing nervousness, which made the constant complaints, especially of the French, unbearable to him. In order to avoid these irksome interruptions, he ended by following the example of his father-

[31] Baron C. Buffin: *La Tragédie mexicaine*, p. 179.

in-law, who communicated in writing even with his own sons, and carried on intercourse with his ministers by letter.

The Emperor had allowed Eloin to leave for Europe under the impression that on his return he would again be head of the civil cabinet. It was not till the Belgian had already reached Europe that he learnt from the Emperor's own letter of this "*coup d'état*" against his own civil cabinet.[32] Maximilian discharged all the officials but the secretary José Louis Blasio [33] and one Duran, and replaced them by fresh ones. Loysel had gained his ends by playing upon the vanity of the Emperor, who would not for the world have it supposed that he was dependent upon anybody. According to the Emperor's own letter to Eloin, the new cabinet councillors were secretly to supervise the work of the ministers, and draw up memorials about the Emperor's various schemes. There were several foreigners among them. The councillor in charge of finance was, significantly enough, a Frenchman, Bournouf; the expert on colonization, an American from the Southern States, Maury; the expert on public instruction, the Emperor's physician, the Austrian Semeleder.

From this time on, misunderstandings were to be obviated by an exchange of written memoranda. "Now," said the Emperor, "it can no longer be alleged, as in the time of Iglesias, that the Emperor has said or desired this or that; everything is written and signed. I see no members of my cabinet, and Loysel comes only to small dinners and intimate talks as a friend, and not as head of the military cabinet." The members of the cabinet felt injured at first; in time they got used to it. But it may be doubted whether such a way of carrying on business with a department in such close touch with the Emperor, and working on the most private matters, was really best for the general good.

For the moment, the Emperor still gave Eloin to understand that under the new conditions he would still retain "the

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[32] The Emperor Maximilian to Eloin (in Paris), Chapultepec, August 8, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

[33] Known by his book *Maximiliano íntimo*, containing personal reminiscences (Paris and Mexico, 1905).

main control," and would only "no longer" have to occupy himself "with details." But to Loysel he wrote that he saw the cabinet had followed a wrong direction under "poor Eloin," and hence it had been necessary "to put it in its place." The Emperor also complained that up to now he had been overwhelmed with all sorts of details, but that big questions had been dealt with apart from him; indeed he had been prevented by the officials — perhaps purposely — from forming a clear opinion of them. Thus Maximilian attempted to cover his retreat in the matter of the civil cabinet by a little duplicity. But he had by no means entirely abandoned Eloin.

Nor did Maximilian intend that the French should come off scot-free. He took advantage of his answer to Major Loysel's question about the cabinet to complain bitterly of Bazaine. Although the military situation had got worse, it had been made out to be brilliant, not only in Mexico City, but in Paris. He, the Emperor, had to swallow every sort of humiliation and injustice; in a word, "an impudent game was being played with both Emperors," but that must and should cease.[34] Maximilian also complained to Loysel [35] of the "laziness and incapacity" of his high government officials, and next of the "Bonnefonds, Huarts, Bonnarts, Eloins, Détroyats, Schertzenlechners," and all such mediocrities, who came from overseas and made a mass of proposals, for the most part on the European model, which the poor Mexicans simply could not digest.

Maximilian saw the mistakes that were made by his officials, but he forgot that they were no more than auxiliaries, who were only suited for carrying out what the controlling mind should devise. But intellectual vigour and power of concentration were necessary for this constructive process, besides judgment as to what was possible or impossible, essential or unessential. All this he lacked. When he railed at those who worked for him, he was really passing a vote of want of confidence in himself, for he ought to have been master of them

[34] The Emperor Maximilian to Major Loysel, July 18, 1865; draft in V. N. A. Printed in part by Niox, op. cit., p. 490; Domenech, op. cit., III. 216 (under date of July 19).

[35] The same to the same, July 23, 1865. V. N. A.

all, he the controlling mind, the others the instruments. It cannot be denied that the Emperor's hands were tied by Bazaine's position and the draining of the financial resources, but things would not have gone so far if he had taken up a firmer attitude towards Napoleon and threatened to abdicate if there was any question of carrying through a measure which he considered indispensable. Maximilian did not do this, for, in spite of all the risks, he was still filled with the desire to retain his sovereignty, if only to prove himself in the right to all those in Europe who had once warned him. This explains, too, why the private letters which he wrote to Europe always represented matters in a favourable light. For since he refused to play the one trump card in his hand, the only course open to him was to place himself entirely in the hands of the French and cling to them, though inwardly he wished them all at perdition. This was the great weakness which made itself felt during his whole reign.

Marshal Bazaine had indeed hailed the departure of Eloin with satisfaction, but his mission to Paris and Brussels had caused Bazaine a certain anxiety. He was quite conscious of the Emperor's sentiments towards him, and was afraid that Eloin had been charged to lodge a complaint against him in Paris. Moreover, General Douay's return was approaching, and, knowing how intimate Douay was with Maximilian, Bazaine suspected him of being in league with the Emperor against himself, his superior officer. He therefore set to work to remove Douay as far as possible from the capital.

Meanwhile the Emperor began with renewed zeal to set the necessary reforms on foot, and having now recognized the inadequacy of all his officials, he tried to interfere in person in everything. He wanted a " fundamental " reorganization. Public instruction was to be so organized as to enable the Mexican people to " take its place by the side of the leading nations in the world." [36] The Emperor attached the greatest importance to the study of the classical languages and natural sciences, as well as physical training, and recommended the cultivation of

[36] The Emperor Maximilian to the Minister for Education, Siliceo, Puebla, June 11, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

philosophy, " that too much neglected science," since " it trains the understanding, teaches men to know themselves and to develop the moral order of society out of themselves as an inner necessity." The Minister for Education, Siliceo, smiled at the Emperor's ideas, and considered that they were excellent, but belonged to another world.

The Emperor also wanted to take in hand the financial administration, which had been completely muddled by the sickly Bonnefond. " In future," he wrote to Loysel,[37] " I shall be my own Finance Minister," not realizing that this was a mere phrase.

Not content with all this, the Emperor busied himself with the foundation of an Academy of Sciences; endeavoured to reform a collection of portraits of all the former rulers of Mexico, including the Spanish viceroys and ex-presidents of the Republic, which had become scattered during the political troubles; supported the pearl-fisheries of California out of his own pocket, on condition that he and the Empress were always provided with fine pearls for presents; and endeavoured to obtain for the nation certain objects which had belonged to the Aztec emperor, and formed part of the imperial collections in Vienna since the days of Charles V.

The distressing state of the finances caused him grave anxiety, and so did the discouraging outlook of the struggle with Juarez, which was growing worse every day. " It must freely be admitted," he wrote to Loysel,[38] " that our military position is as bad as it can be." He complained bitterly of the reduction of the French troops, the waste of money, and the underrating of the Juarista " robbers," who might be alluded to as " bands and bandits," but gave evidence of considerable military capacity. Besides, incessant reports kept coming in to the effect that the high dignitaries of the Church were attempting to obstruct all his government measures; the Emperor therefore approved a proposal of Siliceo, a minister of Liberal tend-

[37] The Emperor Maximilian to Major Loysel, June 18, 1865; draft in V. N. A. See also Niox, op. cit., p. 486.

[38] The same to the same, Mexico, June 27, 1865. V. N. A. Printed in Domenech, op. cit., III. 297.

encies, to institute a secret police which should keep watch upon the behaviour of the Catholic clergy.[39]

It was in this frame of mind that the Emperor at last resolved to tell a few home truths to Gutierrez, who was still taking it upon himself to enlighten him with his monotonous advice. In May arrived another eighty-four-page letter from him, in which the theme of Catholicism and monarchy was developed.[40] It laid stress upon the fact that during the discussions at Miramar the predominant motive had been the struggle for Catholicism, and this idea had been the main lever and chief aim of the monarchist restoration in Mexico. Gutierrez reminded the Emperor of the words he had spoken immediately before his departure: "You have begun the work; it is for me to complete it." In an interminable historical exposition the Mexican described how Mexico had always been Catholic and monarchist. As an ultramontane, he fulminated against the Emperor's policy of tolerance, recommended the adoption of a considerable number of the laws and institutions of the new French Empire, and advised that the administration should be carried on "*à la francesa,*" the Government "*à la mejicana.*" The Emperor should hold fast to the Conservative monarchist party; if this fell, it would be a terrible misfortune, for the monarchical principle would fall with it. It was only by its aid that the Latin-Catholic orientation of the Mexican people could be maintained against the Protestant-democratic power of the Anglo-Saxons; hence the influence of the clergy, the mainstay of the monarchical idea, must not be tampered with. What was needed was a truly Catholic monarchy with the motto *In hoc signo vinces;* a word from the Emperor would suffice, and all would be well.

The letter arrived just in time to exasperate the Emperor still more against the party of the *cangrejos* (crabs), the name given in Mexico to reactionaries and ultramontanes. He now replied at great length, but in the plainest language.[41]

[39] The Emperor Maximilian to Siliceo, Minister of Education, Perote, June 3, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

[40] Gutierrez to the Emperor Maximilian, Paris, April 10, 1865. V. N. A.

[41] The Emperor Maximilian to Gutierrez, June 4, 1865; Ojo de Agna; draft in V. N. A.

Gutierrez had spoken of the monarchy in the past and the old monarchical principle in Mexico. "Very good," wrote the Emperor, "I tell you frankly that there never was a monarchy in Mexico!" It was an insult to the monarchical principle, he said, to try to place the three hundred years' domination of the Spanish viceroys, who were always changing, who ruled more or less despotically, and were for the most part intent upon enriching themselves, upon the same level as government by a hereditary ruler, beloved by the people. The Emperor wrote that it pained him to have to tell Gutierrez unpleasant truths, but he at last felt compelled to shatter the illusions in which Gutierrez was living, and in which he himself had lived before his voyage to Mexico, while still Archduke. The great Catholic majority of which Gutierrez had always talked, and was still talking, did not exist. He should not forget that twenty-five years had passed since he had last seen his native land; there were, indeed, some good Catholics, but only a few. The large majority was utterly indifferent, as was the case in almost the whole of the American continent. Even the great majority of the clergy did not know what good Catholicism meant. In many regions which he had visited as Emperor, no bishop had ever been seen, persons of twenty years of age were unbaptized, and few had any knowledge of the sacraments. The moral record of the clergy was sad reading. It was as yet impossible to start negotiations; what was needed was strong and vigorous action. The New World had fallen into an incredible state of religious decadence. How could there be any idea of liberty without toleration for all creeds?

Maximilian's severest criticism was directed against Gutierrez's advice that everything should be organized *à la francesa*. This showed what false information Gutierrez was receiving from his friends about events in Mexico. Still true to his old idea of reconciling all parties, Maximilian contested Gutierrez's proposal that he should throw himself into the arms of the Conservatives. Members of the latter party, such as Lares and Velazquez de León had entered his council, but he desired to see all parties united in the palace of Mexico, as ought to be the case in the house of a just sovereign. Spain had



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reigned by armed force, and kept the Indians in slavery. Such a mediæval system could no longer be upheld. In any case, an entirely new generation had sprung up during the last twenty-five years, which had to be handled in quite a different fashion from what Gutierrez appeared to think.

In spite of all the amiable phrases scattered through it, the letter contained quite enough direct hits at the fanatical old Mexican. So far, Gutierrez had arrogantly kept insinuating that Maximilian was Emperor by his grace and favour. Now for once the Emperor had spoken out clearly. But he was wrong in supposing that this would have the slightest effect upon a man like Gutierrez; it was not long before he had proof of this.

In accordance with his instructions, Eloin first visited Paris. But Napoleon had been staying in Algiers since April 29, and the Belgian was received only by the Empress, who, as Metternich expressed it,[42] was "steering the ship," as regent, during the Emperor's absence. Hidalgo presented Eloin to her most unwillingly; he did not like him, and did not fail to allude to his "bad manners" in his reports to Maximilian. The fact is that Hidalgo was very much annoyed that he was not present at the interview.

Eloin handed the Empress Maximilian's letter, in which Napoleon was requested to try to obtain guarantees from the great powers of Europe against the menace of the United States, and supplemented it with comments of his own. The request merely met with an astonished rebuff. The Empress Eugénie considered that Maximilian was too fussy (*trop remuant*), and always asking for the impossible — for instance, in the case of these guarantees; and said that the letter would be sent on to the Emperor at Algiers. Napoleon himself took no steps in the matter; his two official letters to Maximilian at this date [43] contain nothing but phrases, and his thanks for an order bestowed by Maximilian upon the Prince Imperial.

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[42] Prince Metternich to Count Mensdorff, June 10, 1865. V. N. A.

[43] Napoleon III to the Emperor Maximilian, June 15 and July 15, 1865; originals in V. N. A. Only the last nine words and the signature are in Napoleon's hand.

Nor were the efforts which he was requested to make towards obtaining European guarantees for Mexico even mentioned in his subsequent correspondence.

The Empress also questioned Eloin minutely about the organization of the palace, the resources of Mexico, the society of the capital, and the pleasures of the Court. The danger threatening from the United States was also discussed, but the deep impression made upon the Emperor and Empress by what was happening there was concealed from Eloin. His request for the reinforcement of the French troops stationed in Mexico was bluntly refused. The Empress Eugénie excused herself to Charlotte for this by saying [44] that on the occasion of the Emperor's departure for Algiers she had received orders to maintain the army of occupation in Mexico on the same footing. In accordance with this, wastage had been made good, but otherwise there was no reason at that moment for strengthening the army of occupation. "It is impossible," wrote Eugénie, "to occupy the whole of Mexico, and there are sufficient troops to secure peace in part of the country and maintain the honour of our flag." Moreover, the marshal would soon set things to rights by his undoubted energy and sagacity. So once again nothing was achieved.

Eloin's impressions in Paris were thoroughly depressing. From all he heard, he was bound to feel that his mission there was more or less of a failure. In accordance with his instructions, he next waited upon the King of the Belgians, who had just written a birthday letter [45] to his son-in-law in an encouraging spirit, saying that the enterprise was one of the grandest on earth, and since Heaven had favoured the cause, it was to be hoped that His protection would not fail the Emperor and Empress. Eloin found the King of the Belgians at his palace of Laeken, weakened by illness. The King complained that his health had been ruined since the catastrophe at Windsor.[46]

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[44] The Empress Eugénie to the Empress Charlotte, Tuileries, May 31, 1865; original in V. N. A.

[45] King Leopold to the Emperor Maximilian, Laeken, June 12, 1865; original in V. N. A.

[46] The allusion is to the death of his nephew Albert, the English Prince Consort.

None the less he discussed things thoroughly with Eloin, and remarked at once that the rapid defeat of the Southern States, which he could not understand, was a great misfortune for Mexico, but it must be hoped that the United States would be kept busy with their own affairs for some time. France displayed a certain anxiety, but the Americans would be overawed by the French navy. England's desire was "to keep out of it all."

The King next discussed the Church question in detail. Eloin, like Schertzenlechner, had advocated the drastic solution which had actually been carried into effect by Maximilian; but had now to admit that the King's advice, in which he still persisted, but which had arrived in Mexico too late — namely, to handle the Catholics more gently — was the only right one. How this was to be done was not mentioned, and these generalities did not advance matters much. On the other hand, the King appeared much pleased with the measures in favour of the "Indians," who still formed the object of his "chief predilection"; he uttered a fresh warning against allowing Mexico to be controlled by foreigners, offered some quite vague advice, which, owing to the distance, could only be theoretical, about the pacification of the country, and concluded by saying that the Empire required above all authority and power, and that the Government could come out openly in a liberal sense later on.

The King wanted to give Maximilian an account of the conversation himself,[47] but in the end his eyesight forbade it, and Eloin had to write the letter. There was no mention of the guarantee of the powers in it either. In view of the political situation in Europe, which bore in it the seeds of many more pressing anxieties, his son-in-law's demand seemed to King Leopold quite as hopeless as it had done in Paris. But no answer was answer enough. Eloin had again to go away empty-handed and proceed on his next mission, a visit to Vienna, where he was to ascertain what views were held there about the renunciation of the succession.

On arriving, at the end of July 1865, he had a conversation

[47] King Leopold to the Emperor Maximilian, June 13, 1865; original in V. N. A.

with Baron De Pont, who expressed himself very favourably to Maximilian.[48] The diplomatist was authorized to explain that, whatever happened, the Emperor of Austria would always have a great affection for Maximilian; if unforeseen events were to compel the latter to leave Mexico, not only would his rights to the family patrimony be restored to him, but the Emperor of Austria would do all that was in his power to reinstate him in the position due to him as a prince of the Austrian imperial house.

In view of the attitude adopted by Maximilian, this was a very considerable advance, and Eloin was delighted to be able to announce a success to the Emperor in this direction at least. On the other hand, he could not give a very good account of the representatives of Mexico in Europe. Arrangoiz's proceedings had already aroused the distrust of the Emperor. Nor did he hear much good about Hidalgo from any quarter. Besides, he gathered from Hidalgo's own reports that his position at the imperial Court of France must have changed for the worse, for in always yielding to France, and failing to support Mexico's interests, his motive evidently was to bolster up his waning popularity at court by his complaisance. Maximilian had already instituted surveillance over the ministers and clergy in Mexico; he now instructed [49] his confidant Herzfeld, the Mexican consul-general in Vienna, to appoint confidential agents in Paris, Rome, and possibly London as well, whose chief task was to consist in keeping watch on the Mexican diplomatists and furnishing direct reports to the Emperor.

Maximilian obtained more exact information about the opinion of the Emperor and Empress of the French on what he had already accomplished from General Douay, who had just returned to Mexico and gave him an account of his impressions in a long and confidential conversation on July 9, 1865.[50]

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[48] Eloin to the Emperor Maximilian, Mexico, August 21, 1865; original in V. N. A.

[49] The Emperor Maximilian to Herzfeld, July 25, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

[50] There is a memorandum of this conversation, dated July 9, in the Empress Charlotte's own hand, in V. N. A., which has here been used for the first time.

Douay reported that everybody in Paris wanted the Mexican expedition to come to an end, especially as it had already lasted much longer than had at first been expected. The general had observed great discretion in speaking to Randon, the Minister for War, for he did not wish openly to contradict Bazaine's over-sanguine reports. He wanted, however, to give an accurate picture of conditions in Mexico, and therefore did not conceal from Randon that the sending home of a French brigade had been premature and had had bad effects. "But," replied Randon, "we have never pressed the marshal to send troops home." This was not true, for when he said this, the Minister for War had forgotten the Emperor Napoleon's letters. It looked as if Bazaine had sent the brigade home only in order to make a good impression in France. Randon next asked how the 6,000 Austrians and 2,000 Belgians were shaping. Douay replied that he did not know enough about them yet, and now, on his return, he put the same question to the Emperor. "They march very well," replied Maximilian, "they have made great efforts, they have taken part in a number of engagements and are beginning to settle down. As to the Belgians, the mistake was made of sending beardless boys, who were disheartened from the first, and nobody made any attempt to raise their morale; in the mean time they were killed like flies, but in time it will be possible to make something of them, for their nature is not very different from that of the French."

When Douay recommended the formation of a Ministry for War, the Emperor said that with Bazaine anything of the sort was impossible. Douay then had some severe things to say about his marshal, who, in his opinion, had been mistaken from the very first as to the scope and gravity of the enterprise. His point of departure had been a false one, and consequently so were the conclusions he had drawn from it. Bazaine had entered upon his task with extreme satisfaction, and told Douay that everything would be over by the end of 1864, so that the French would be able to leave Mexico in December. "At the beginning of his expedition into the interior," continued Douay, "he told me that the decisive point would be San Juan del Rio; later it was to be at Querétaro; once

scattered, the Juarista troops would never form again, and the business would be at an end; he had no doubt of that. I know Americans better than he does, and so I never shared his illusions. This was what made me seem opposed to the expedition at first, for I took it seriously. This, it seems to me, is why the marshal will not admit that he has been wrong from the very beginning, and started on a wrong course. Moreover, he has the good fortune to be the only person to write reports on the situation, which have almost the force of law in France, and he naturally represents things in his own way. On the other hand, he does not like the idea of going home before the mission entrusted to him is at an end, and since he has always said that it is a mere trifle, he is afraid that at any moment the truth may be revealed."

Maximilian replied that he had spoken frankly to Dano, the French Minister, about Bazaine, and that Napoleon knew quite well what to think about the marshal. He likewise knew all the details of the affair at Oaxaca, what happened during the siege, and how many millions it cost. The Emperor also observed that he would like to have Douay himself as commander-in-chief, which Douay explained to be impossible in view of his inferior rank. The Emperor was of the contrary opinion.

Douay replied that the newly-constituted government party must be able to base itself upon the French army, whose commander-in-chief ought to be loyal to the Emperor. The latter must be a dictator. The clergy were disappointed, for they had thought they would be able to rule unchecked. "The Emperor," Douay continued, "must have large military forces, in order to compel the Mexicans to make sacrifices which they would not make voluntarily. The French commander-in-chief must be subordinate to the Emperor, and not vice versa, and he must be prepared to co-operate in Your Majesty's projects and serve you in all things."

"Since we have now no secrets from each other," answered Maximilian, "you must know that the marshal always opposes all attempts to organize an army. Did Napoleon tell you this? He has thwarted everything we have wanted to do. The

older Mexican generals have been astonished; they think I do not want an army. Whereas it is the marshal who will not give me anybody to organize it. D'Hérillier was spoken of, but the marshal gave me the worst possible account of him (*m'en a dit pis que pendre*); I next asked him for a young man, Lajaille, but he would not consent, and finally showed me a letter from the Minister of War, with the remark: 'The minister will not allow me to give Your Majesty anybody.' You know that I first thought of Loysel, whom I made a brigadier-general. When he returned from the interior, where he had accompanied me upon my tour, the marshal began to treat him like a dog. Later on I had some trouble in getting him transferred to me as chief of my military cabinet. I chose him so that France might see the straightforwardness of my policy. Thus the marshal has frustrated all my projects, and so I wrote in a letter to Loysel, which he showed him, and which he admitted to be in accordance with the truth."

Here Douay introduced some remarks upon the "disaccord" existing between the marshal and the majority of his generals. The Emperor Maximilian urgently requested the general always to tell him everything, and mentioned that he had also spoken frankly with Dano, the French Minister. "In spite of all one's prudence with regard to expenditure," exclaimed the Emperor, "in spite of the cheese-paring which prevails in the Finance Department, there is nothing to be done, for the war alone, the civil war, absorbs everything. You know how punctually we pay all sums as they fall due to France, besides which we have been supporting Almonte and all the household out of the civil list for five months past."

"Naturally," remarked Douay, "the commercial conquest of the country ought to be preceded by the military conquest, but if the proceeds of the loans are ear-marked in advance for repaying the debt to France, it is obvious that this must use up almost the whole of the loan."

"All the more so," continued the Emperor, "since the ports are our sole sources of revenue. Taxes are as good as non-existent." Douay thereupon remarked that taxation had been arranged upon an entirely false basis; the country was very

rich, in many regions taxes were paid both to the Empire and to the Juaristas; which proved how productive the country was.

"Yes," rejoined Maximilian, "but our only real resources are Tampico, Matamoros, Mazatlán, and Vera Cruz. When I was in Paris last May, they took a rosy view of the situation; the Emperor Napoleon had just received an extraordinarily favourable report from Marshal Bazaine, and said to me: 'Prince, you will find Mexico entirely pacified, the loan will be required merely for railways and material enterprises.' And now? What point have we reached? The situation is worse than last year."

"Of course," said Douay, "we ought to have been content with organizing things one after the other, and not to have begun dealing with everything at once so precipitately."

"Yes, how can one expect the population of the Empire to remain loyal when such things happen as at Uruapam where [after a temporary French occupation, followed shortly afterwards by the evacuation of the place] the prefect [appointed by the imperialist Government], whom you knew, honest Isidor Paz, was shot. The marshal is a man of great subtlety, he has a limited — I might almost say, Italian — intelligence, his two faults are his laziness and lack of organizing power, coupled with jealousy and discontent with others. Monsieur Dano is very well-disposed (*très bien disposé*)."

To which Douay replied: "The distances which the troops are made to cover are simply insane. My division has travelled 19,000 miles in seventeen months, and the 81st regiment of infantry, which I have just inspected, has not had a moment's rest."

"Yes," replied the Emperor, "the troops being inadequate, they have counted too much upon the Austrians and Belgians. When will reinforcements arrive? There cannot be more than 20,000 men left."

Douay answered evasively that on the arrival of reinforcements some 30,000 French would be at their disposal, upon which the Emperor expressed his astonishment that, in spite of the uncertainty of the situation, big companies were pre-

pared to construct the railway from Vera Cruz into the interior, and an American-Mexican company wanted the concession for the coastwise navigation. "Good," said Douay, "but we must not rest upon our oars."

"Do not forget that we are not in France," the Emperor reminded him; "travel there is by steam, here it is by coach."

"Your Majesty will often be forced to do things the Mexicans will not like, such as colonization and the sequestration of undeveloped lands. Only a dictator will be able to force that upon them; the landowners will never consent to it of their own free will."

"Another affair that we have settled," observed the Emperor, "was the Jecker business. When Dano arrived, he said: 'Good Heavens, did Your Majesty lend yourself to that business?'—'Yes,' I replied, 'it was your predecessor, Montholon, who desired it.'"

"It is believed in France," interposed Douay, "that the whole object of the expedition was to help Jecker get his money."

"To return to the main point," said the Emperor, at the close of the interview, "the most important thing is that you should soon enter upon the inheritance which is your due. In the letter which I wrote to the Emperor [Napoleon] from Orizaba, I told him he had no better friend than the Emperor of Mexico. They are always looking for 'schisms,' the marshal exaggerates a number of little affairs, but everything will be smoothed out by your arrival."

This conversation was significant in more than one respect. It is clear proof of the conspiracy hatched by General Douay with the Emperor against his superior officer. In spite of Douay's modest protest that he was too young, it also shows that he wanted Bazaine's place. The latter had long been informed, by the candid reports given him in Napoleon's letters, that Douay was intriguing against him both in Paris and in Mexico. He now kept him under careful observation. Douay's frequent intercourse with the Emperor was well known to him, and it was perfectly clear what Douay wanted. Maximilian's friendly treatment of Douay, accompanied by a reserve

towards Bazaine which it was impossible to misinterpret, irritated the marshal. Even the gift of the palace in which he had so far lived, as a wedding present to his young wife from the Emperor, did little to change his relations with Maximilian. Bazaine's vanity was hurt by the preference shown to Douay, and henceforth Maximilian could no longer rely on him for support. Douay's friendship, which was not backed up by any force, could not compensate for this.

The Empress Eugénie had been much interested by her conversation with General Douay, but, like the Empress Charlotte's letters, it revealed the dissensions between the Emperor and Empress on the one hand, and the marshal on the other. She therefore felt it incumbent upon her to recommend Bazaine warmly to the Empress Charlotte,[51] to draw her attention to his merits, and insist that, with regard to the capture of Oaxaca and the functions of General Brincourt, the marshal must be allowed a free hand and responsibility for using his personnel in the best way. This was a perfectly obvious snub called forth by the covert attacks of the Emperor and Empress upon Bazaine.

But the Empress Charlotte refused to see this. She was exasperated with Bazaine for having sent back to France the brigade commanded by General d'Hérillier,[52] who was devoted to her, and the general with it, though she hoped that, like Douay, he would come back. She was also indignant that Douay should at once have been ordered into the interior of the country, when he had scarcely returned from France. "The latter," wrote Charlotte to the Empress Eugénie, "has left for the interior, troubled at the thought that he will not be able to accomplish much there; we parted from him with a heavy heart, and he from us. He is a man of distinguished ability, as soldier, statesman, and administrator. The Emperor and he have an absolutely electrical effect upon each other, and are like two friends, or even brothers.

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[51] The Empress Eugénie to the Empress Charlotte, Tuileries, April 1, 1865; original in V. N. A.

[52] The Empress Charlotte to the Empress Eugénie, Mexico, July 26, 1865; autograph copy by the Empress Charlotte in V. N. A.

"Our good marshal's marriage is going on well; they go out riding together, and I met them early this morning."

These two laconic phrases were all the information that Charlotte was able to give Eugénie about Bazaine, and the contrast with the panegyric upon Generals d'Hérillier and Douay, quoted above, was striking. It was moreover imprudent of Charlotte to speak so warmly about Maximilian's relations with Douay, for Napoleon wanted the commander-in-chief in Mexico to be in the first place *his* man, and not Maximilian's. Besides, both he and the Empress Eugénie considered that there ought not to be a fourth change in the supreme command in Mexico. The Emperor and Empress of the French therefore resolved still to keep Bazaine, though much they had heard — for instance, Douay's reports — and his marriage, which was not much to their liking, had rather clouded their confidence in him. The Empress Eugénie therefore thought that in her next letter to Charlotte she ought to put things a little more clearly.

"Your Majesty," she wrote,[53] "appears from your letters — at least that is how I have understood them — to desire that General Douay should receive a higher command; he is certainly a very good general, but Your Majesty may feel convinced that the marshal is our best soldier; he has moreover the advantage, in my eyes, of having never lost heart even for a moment, he has confidence in the existing order of things, and his recall would have the disadvantage of making people believe that interest is slackening, if the person left in command is of inferior rank. I am afraid that the neglect of some formality has given Your Majesty a bad idea of him. . . ." In the rest of her letter Eugénie continued to praise the marshal's good qualities; she referred to his reports, which contained such wise, clear, and courageous judgments, asked her to forgive all his errors, to which all men are subject, and enclosed for her private inspection letters written by Bazaine to Napoleon.

So far, indeed, it had been the optimistic tinge of Bazaine's

[53] The Empress Eugénie to the Empress Charlotte, Tuileries, July 15, 1865; original in V. N. A.

reports which had pleased the Emperor and Empress of the French, for the very reason that they were so much in accordance with their wishes; and this impression still persisted, in spite of all that was said against Bazaine in various quarters in Paris.

When Charlotte received this letter from Eugénie, she retreated all along the line, and replied [54] that so long as Bazaine possessed the confidence of Napoleon, he would also enjoy that of the Emperor and Empress of Mexico. Nothing had ever arisen to prevent them from treating him as a friend, and this would still continue to be the case. But inwardly Charlotte said to herself that the first great attack upon Bazaine in Paris had failed, and any fresh attempt must be postponed till later. The Empress felt the weight of her new situation more and more. "I am growing old," she wrote to her grandmother, Queen Marie Amélie, "if not in the eyes of others, at any rate in my own, and my thoughts and feelings are very different from my exterior." [55]

About this time Santa Anna published an appeal to all parties to rally to him against the Empire. Though this fell flat, it showed Maximilian that he had yet another active enemy to contend with. In spite of this, Maximilian continued to make eager efforts to represent affairs in Mexico in the best possible light to everybody. Even his letters to the King of the Belgians were pitched in an optimistic key. The enthusiastic reception which he met with in many quarters during his tour [56] and on his return on April 26 had further contributed towards this, and had brought with it the hope that in the end "those awkward customers" [57] in the United States would remain neutral, and the feelers he had put out on various occasions might meet with success. As regards the military situation, he could not report that things were going as he would have wished. He wrote that much had indeed been done in this first

[54] The Empress Charlotte to the Empress Eugénie, Mexico, August 23, 1865; autograph copy by the Empress in V. N. A.

[55] Rainach-Foussemagne, op. cit., p. 232.

[56] The Emperor Maximilian to Leopold I, King of the Belgians, June 27, 1865; original in V. N. A.

[57] The same to the same, Chapultepec, July 25, 1865; original in V. N. A.

year since his accession, but that far more might have been done had the French sent more troops and more active generals. Thus the war devoured untold sums, and was bringing the finances into increasing disorder. Maximilian developed these considerations to Napoleon, accompanied by a favourable estimate of administrative and political conditions in the country.[58] He laid stress upon the point that he had preached economy to Bazaine a hundred times; since one brigade had been sent home, the necessity for costly movements of troops was constantly arising. Napoleon had expressed a hope that the proceeds of the first loan would be able to be devoted exclusively to internal reforms, but now the war had frittered them all away. It was owing to the lack of troops and money that the military situation was less promising than it had been a year before. Otherwise there was progress, and good progress.

But in spite of all, it did not occur to Maximilian that the Empire would be unable to maintain itself. On the contrary, he felt some anxiety at the fact that he was still without heirs. He conceived the idea that the heirs of the ill-fated Emperor Iturbide might be considered in this connexion. Iturbide had left three sons and a daughter. The second of these sons had a son Agustin, then two years old, and the third a son Salvador, who was already of school age. Maximilian's plan, in the event of the Empress's remaining childless, was to adopt Iturbide's youngest grandchild as Crown Prince. But it was necessary to come to an understanding with the family on the subject, and they hoped to take advantage of this opportunity to strengthen their position both socially and materially.

And so a secret agreement was arrived at between the Emperor and the Iturbide family.[59] Maximilian conferred the title of princess upon Iturbide's daughter Josefa, and that of prince upon his grandsons Agustin and Salvador. The Emperor and their aunt Josefa were the guardians of the two

[58] The Emperor Maximilian to Napoleon III, July 27, 1865. The draft of this letter is missing from V. N. A. Ollivier prints parts of it, op. cit., VII. 523.

[59] Secret agreement of September 9, 1865, in V. N. A.

boys. These three members of the family alone were granted the right of living within the Empire; the rest had to promise not to enter it without the Emperor's permission. In return they were to receive 150,000 piastres from the Mexican Government on account of the claims on the State put forward by the family, apparently with some justification. Besides this, pensions were also allowed to the other members of the family,[60] and the title of prince granted them for life.

One of the two grandsons, Agustin, who was then in his third year, was taken by Maximilian and placed under the guardianship of Josefa; the other was studying in Paris, and was entrusted to the care of Hidalgo, who had to see that the boy should not afterwards become a "disturbing element." Alice Iturbide, mother of the little Agustin, a North American by birth, did not approve of this separation from her son, but was forced to consent to it by the other members of the family, on account of the advantages offered by the secret agreement. She tried to obtain a promise from Maximilian that her son should be left to her at least till his fifth year. Maximilian, who described her as "half crazy," considered that this would be a great disadvantage to the child, and refused to yield. On the contrary, he threatened severe measures in case those members of the family who were bound by the agreement to leave the country did not sail by the boat leaving for Europe on October 2. Doña Alice protested indignantly against such an outrage upon her maternal feelings, but, urged by her relations, she had to yield in the end. Thus arose a fresh bone of contention which afterwards caused Maximilian many anxieties.

The whole business was most embarrassing for the Empress Charlotte, for though little Iturbide had not been proclaimed heir to the throne, it was clear to all that his being brought up in the palace could have no other object, and revealed the Emperor's secret conviction that he could not expect to have a child by his wife. The Empress tried to counteract this impres-

[60] Agustin Iturbide was to receive 6,100 pesos, Angel 5,100 pesos, Doña Sabina 1,524 pesos, and Agustin Cosme the full pay of his military rank.

sion in Europe. She wrote to her grandmother that this elevation of the Emperor Iturbide's family to the rank of princes was merely an act of justice on the Emperor's part. To explain why it was Iturbide's grandsons, and not his sons, who had received this title, the Empress alleged that "the latter had contracted habits of gambling and drinking in the United States which made their elevation to the same dignity as their children impossible." By this means the Empress thought she might disguise the truth: namely, that it was Maximilian's wish that Iturbide's grandsons alone should one day have the right to aspire to the succession.[61]

Meanwhile the opposition to Mexico in North America had become stronger as the power of the United States increased both at home and abroad after the Civil War. The hostility of American government circles was expressed in no uncertain terms, and a society hostile to the Emperor was formed in New York under the name of the Mexican Patriots' Club. The majority of the newspapers, too, were definitely hostile to the Emperor's Government. Seward maintained his contention that with regard to Mexican affairs he could only deal with Juarez's representative, or, at most, with the French Minister, the Marquis de Montholon. The latter was not very well-disposed towards the Emperor, and was hardly likely to send him trustworthy information about the attitude of the United States.

The Emperor therefore sent still further agents to New York — for instance, Estvan — who were to influence the press, and even buy a paper, which they made an unsuccessful attempt to do from Gordon Bennett. The Emperor also entrusted Count Ollivier Rességuier, who had meanwhile concluded his mission in Central and South America, and was starting on a voyage to Europe, which was planned for November, with the task of establishing relations with American capitalists in New York with a view to promoting companies for joint railway and steamship schemes, and also of controlling the agents working in the interests of Mexico, and doing

[61] Charlotte to Queen Marie Amélie, September 29, 1865. Rainach-Foussemagne, op. cit., p. 258.

all he could to pave the way towards a *rapprochement* between the United States and the Mexican Empire.

The Emperor Maximilian heard nothing from his agents but complaints about Montholon, who placed every possible obstacle in their way, for he felt that he was being watched by them. Besides, the agents themselves appeared to be rather unscrupulous. Maximilian remained true to the fatal principle, upon which he always acted, of disregarding unfavourable information. Nor did he take warning when the United States refused to have any official dealings with the imperial Government. Since the reports from Loosey, the Austrian consul-general, were on the whole favourable, and cast no doubts upon the untroubled future of the Empire, Maximilian set great store by him.

While the Emperor was thus deceiving himself as to the seriousness of his position, he continued to try to foster the illusions of his relations and adherents in Europe. Schaffer, his major-domo, who had just returned from Europe, had written that he longed to be back in Mexico.[62] Maximilian at once took advantage of this to write to his brother that " old Europe " had struck Schaffer as repulsive, strait-laced, and even ridiculous in many respects, and that he had felt drawn towards the " fresh, free life " of the New World. This was meant to arouse envy and jealousy in Vienna. The Emperor wrote in similar terms to De Pont, who had declined the position of minister offered him by Maximilian " for family reasons," but really because he was too well acquainted with the circumstances, owing to the Mexican correspondence which he had carried on before the acceptance of the crown. " I should like to have had you here," ran this letter,[63] " so as to see my former country worthily represented, and to show my new country that there are statesmen in Austria. Now, unfortunately, the absolute opposite has happened; good fat Thun is now the doyen of the diplomatic corps, but in spite of this he cuts the most dismal

[62] The Emperor Maximilian to the Archduke Karl Ludwig, September 11, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

[63] The Emperor Maximilian to Alphonse, Baron De Pont, Chapultepec, September 19, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

figure, and is the butt of all his colleagues. In spite of all the gossip and tales about robbers which are disseminated in the European, and even in the Austrian papers by American money, we are very comfortable and contented here; and I cannot put my feelings more strongly than by saying that if, after all my experiences, I could suppose myself back at Miramar again, and the Mexican deputation were to come again, I should not hesitate, or impose any conditions, but accept with a ready and cheerful 'Yes.' Like Guatimozin's,[64] mine is no bed of roses, indeed there are many thorns; but I have a wide and free field of activity, I am able to do something for the good of my fellow-men, and often receive tokens of true gratitude, a consolation which I never knew in old Europe, except for fleeting moments in Milan the unforgettable.

"I love strenuous work, but I want to know that it is recognized, I want to see results, and all this is lacking on your side of the ocean, whereas I find it here to an increasing extent. My last tour and the celebration of our national festival (September 16) were a great comfort to me in this respect. I am under no illusions as to the possibility that the new edifice upon which we are working may collapse if exposed to storms, and that I may perish with it, but nobody can deprive me of the consciousness of having worked devotedly for a sublime idea, and this is better and more comforting than to moulder in inactivity in old Europe. There are those who consider the life led by my younger brothers a philosophic one; to me such an existence would be death in life, and, worse still, I find it ridiculous. There is no more pitiable creature than an apanaged prince, leading what is called a care-free life."

If read in the right spirit, this letter enables us to look into the Emperor's soul. He still wished it to be believed in Austria that the march of events had proved him in the right, but, on the other hand, this letter for the first time reckoned with the idea of a possible failure. Yet the Emperor also wanted to show that to him Mexico had meant escape from an intolerable and repugnant life of useless idleness at home, a feeling

[64] The last of the Aztec emperors of Mexico, Montezuma's nephew and son-in-law, who defended Mexico City against Cortés.

which does the young sovereign nothing but credit. Maximilian was afraid that it might be believed in Europe that he already regretted his decision, and so he not only denied it to De Pont, but also reminded his father-in-law of that conversation at Monza in which, in speaking about Mexico, King Leopold had alluded to this "fine position"; he assured him that this expression, which he had never forgotten, had subsequently been one of the chief inducements to him to accept the crown, and asserted that he had not regretted having done so for a day or an hour.[65]

Great preparations had been made both by the Government and the Court for Independence Day, September 16, the date upon which the priest Hidalgo had given the first signal to rise and shake off the domination of Spain. "The celebrations this year will be peculiarly brilliant," the Emperor wrote home,[66] "in order to show our neighbour that we love our independence, and shall defend it valiantly in case of need." So the program for this "trying day" was drawn up quite on the Viennese model.

However much the Emperor might abominate all this pomp, he managed to infuse into his address a cordial tone which betrayed the unclouded optimism of his views, while containing extraordinarily binding personal assurances. He continued to count upon the friendship of Napoleon III. Besides, Maximilian still felt a strong inward desire to give happiness to the people whose destiny he had made his own, and make it great, rich, and powerful. The romantic in him triumphed over the impressions made upon him by hard facts, and his speeches bore testimony to this.

"My heart, my soul, my work, and all my faithful endeavours belong to you and to our beloved country. No power on earth shall turn me aside from the accomplishment of my task; henceforth every drop of my blood is Mexican, and if God permit new dangers to menace our beloved country, you

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[65] The Emperor Maximilian to Leopold, King of the Belgians, August 23, 1865. V. N. A.

[66] The Emperor Maximilian to the Archduke Karl Ludwig, September 11, 1865. V. N. A.

shall see me fight side by side with you for your independence and integrity. I may die, but I shall fall at the feet of our glorious flag, for no human power could avail to force me to leave the place to which your trust has summoned me."

These words were an allusion to the menace from the United States. But such utterances were dangerous for a sovereign in such a vulnerable position, and with so strong a sense of honour, for they might be called to mind in quite other circumstances. Moreover, this was not the only declaration of the kind; the worse matters grew, the more assurances of this kind were to be heard from the Emperor's lips. For, as he had said in the memoirs written long before his accession: "If people are obstinate, and hard to persuade to some course, I am still more obstinate, and harder to dissuade from my intentions."

The Emperor Maximilian was still confirmed in his views by his two evil geniuses. Far from all danger, from their safe homes in Europe Hidalgo and Gutierrez continued to mislead the Emperor, and since he was so glad to listen to what was pleasant, they never told him anything else. In spite of the misgivings which sometimes occurred to him, he was glad to read what Hidalgo reported from Paris:[67] namely, that except for the attitude of the United States, of which the minister complained bitterly, everything to do with Mexico was seen in a favourable light, and the steadfast faith, the chivalrous spirit, and the intelligence which caused the Emperor to regenerate "all that was touched by his august hand," were appreciated.

"Nowadays," added Hidalgo, referring to the Empress Eugénie, "women have a vote and influence in political matters, and when they take a cause under their wing, success is seldom denied it, for which reason I have never neglected, whether in the past or the present, to let this gracious complement of the male sex interfere in my affairs, especially such women as could prove useful to my plans by their position and talent."

It was interesting to hear this from Hidalgo. By these

[67] Hidalgo to the Emperor Maximilian, Paris, July 29, 1865. V. N. A.

tactics he had achieved a great deal, or it would be fairer to say that he had done unspeakable harm. But he was soon to find out that he was beginning to be seen through in Paris, that his connexions with other politically influential women were viewed with mistrust; in a word, that his success at the French Court had passed its zenith and was now quickly sinking towards its decline. He was less frequently received by the Emperor and Empress among their intimates or alone. His " good manners," upon which he had plumed himself so much — he had once translated a manual of good manners into Spanish — soon ceased to help him. In a moment of self-revelation Hidalgo had even written to the Emperor that he owed his career entirely to his good manners; in contrast to Eloin, he had always made it his chief endeavour not to fail in this respect. Hidalgo did not feel how ridiculous he made himself by such statements. By the word " manners " he meant not only the forms of good society, but more especially a certain charm which his nature undeniably possessed, and which was especially attractive to women. Those few of his contemporaries who give us any information about him are agreed upon this, and in it lies the explanation of his successes.

Meanwhile Maximilian also received news from Rome. The reception of the commission of three which the Emperor had sent to the Papal Court had been constantly postponed, for it could not be supposed that the three persons composing it had remained ignorant of a decree which the Curia regarded as hostile to the Church, and which the Emperor had published a few days after their departure. Maximilian was beside himself with anger at this. He wrote furiously to Ramirez [68] that some step must be taken to show his dissatisfaction with this " wretched Papal Court, for the childish insolence " with which it had treated the commission.

Yet in spite of all that had happened, the Emperor Maximilian did not let himself be beguiled by the idea that he might even now become reconciled with the Holy See, in the sense of inducing it to yield; for now that the Emperor had

[68] The Emperor Maximilian to Ramirez, Chapultepec, August 12, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

issued his decree, there could be no turning back, if he did not want to create irreparable confusion, and suffer loss of prestige.

But now a solution seemed to offer itself. A Jesuit father named Augustin Fischer arrived in Mexico City on a mission from the department of Coahuila, which had a grievance arising out of the law issued by the imperial Government in the spring of 1865 with regard to a fresh division of the land. This priest had had an adventurous life. A German by birth, he had emigrated to Texas in the forties, where he earned a poor livelihood as an agricultural labourer, and later by clerical work. At the beginning of 1848 a workman in California found gold in a mill-stream on the site where Sacramento now stands; they dug deeper and kept finding fresh quantities of gold. North America was soon seized with a fever. Thousands and thousands hurried to California from every corner of the globe to seek their fortune, and within ten months San Francisco grew from a modest township to a great city. Among the gold-diggers, among whom dubious elements naturally prevailed, was Fischer. He had been a Protestant, but was converted to Catholicism by the Jesuits and received into the Society, which did not prevent him from continuing to lead a disorderly life. For a time he was secretary to the Bishop of Durango, but had to leave this post as a result of various unpleasant incidents. He afterwards returned to the diocese, arrived in the capital of Mexico in December 1863, and, as a German-speaking Jesuit, came into contact with Maximilian on his arrival in 1864.

The Emperor now asked Fischer, who was well-informed about Mexican affairs on account of his long residence in the country, to draw up a report on its condition. The priest handed him an exhaustive and brilliantly written treatise. With remarkable intellectual gifts and the manners of a man of the world, he managed to make himself agreeable to the Emperor by flattery, and soon won his full confidence. Since his report he had been a favourite with the Emperor.

After a short sojourn in his cure in the province of Coahuila he had just returned to the capital. The priest's adroitness and

arts of persuasion were so much to the Emperor's taste that the idea occurred to him that here was the right man to smooth the way for the commission in Rome, which seemed to be faced with an insoluble problem.

Father Fischer elaborated a new draft concordat, differing on certain points from the one which the commission was to submit to the Curia. He offered to get this version accepted at Rome. On September 21 Maximilian appointed the Jesuit honorary court chaplain, in order to give him a higher standing. In the following October he entrusted him with a confidential mission to the Pope to induce him to conclude a concordat. He had already despaired of the success of the official commission then in Rome. The priest was given an autograph letter from the Emperor to the Pope,[69] in which Fischer was introduced to him as "one of the most distinguished members of the Mexican clergy," and the hope was expressed that, in spite of the rejection of all previous attempts at conciliation, the effort that was now being made to arrive at an understanding might not again break down owing to regrettable misunderstandings. The Emperor would feel it deeply if he were compelled in future to follow his own conscience alone. Fischer set out for Europe by way of New York, and so Maximilian once more had an opportunity for building castles in the air. This was all the more necessary to his peace of mind since the military situation in the country was, to his grief, growing more unfavourable every day.

No major operations had been carried out during the summer, but guerrilla warfare and minor engagements had taken place all over the country, which had been a severe strain both on the French, wearied by their previous hardships, and on the Austrian and Belgian troops, unaccustomed as they were to this grim and exhausting guerrilla warfare.

Depression and discontent are always fruitful soil for internal strife and discord; so it was not long before the four nations represented in the imperialist army were openly at odds. We have already spoken of the clash between the Austrians and

[69] The Emperor Maximilian to Pope Pius IX, Chapultepec, September 20, 1865; copy in Italian. V. N. A.

the French, and now friction arose between the Belgians and the Mexicans.

The Emperor was in a difficult position. He had always in the end to settle such affairs himself, and therefore had to bear the consequences of such painful decisions. He could not please everybody, so one party was always discontented, and proceeded to cherish a grudge against the Emperor. In this case the business was settled after much trouble, but a sting was left behind.

In view of the end of the Civil War in North America, and the possibility of an attack from that quarter, Bazaine had, in accordance with his Emperor's orders, concentrated the French troops scattered about the country, in readiness to meet a surprise attack with a compact nucleus of troops. This necessitated the evacuation of many places occupied by weak French detachments; these were at once entered by the Juaristas, who wreaked a bloody revenge upon the officials and adherents of the Empire. The French officers — and among others General Brincourt — unaware of the reasons for this concentration, thought the marshal had issued the order regardless of consequences, from his comfortable quarters in the Palacio Buena Vista amid his conjugal bliss. They therefore protested against it. But Bazaine stood firm, and town after town was evacuated. The word went forth throughout the whole country that " the Empire can no longer defend its supporters."

The growing disorder and the desertion of many of the Emperor's adherents which resulted from these measures could not be hidden from Bazaine, but he put it all down to the Emperor's lack of energy and excessive leniency. Forey had instituted the courts-martial. After the Emperor's arrival their sentences had to be submitted to him for confirmation, and the Emperor very often pardoned those whom they had condemned. The presidents of the courts complained to Bazaine. In June 1865 he obtained an order from the Emperor by which their sentences should no longer require confirmation. As the movement against the Empire grew, the number of sentences by court-martial assumed appalling proportions. It was

felt that the movement could only be checked by resorting to still more drastic measures, and the Emperor was advised to abandon his "misplaced clemency," as Count Thun called it.[70] It is now established beyond question that[71] the French headquarters urged the Emperor to resort to measures of extreme severity. To this end they appealed to an unconfirmed rumour, afterwards shown to be false, that Juarez had left Mexican territory and taken refuge in North America.

In all this Bazaine was only following the orders of his imperial master, who, in a letter[72] of August 17, 1865, not only "recommended" the concentration of troops, but also expressly ordered that Bazaine should intimate to Maximilian that it was no time to make a display of liberalism and leniency, but to show energy and a sound judgment of men by reposing full confidence in him who alone could save him.

Maximilian at last yielded, and on October 3, 1865 issued a decree, the gist of which was that whoever opposed the Empire by armed force should be handed over to the summary procedure of the courts-martial; that is to say, to death. He was induced to take this momentous step only by being openly reproached with weakness. And so it came about that this essentially good-natured prince, averse from all injustice and cruelty, lent his name to a measure which cost the lives of countless men, and finally his own; whereas some of those who had persuaded him to it had been safe in Europe all the time, and the rest took refuge there before the catastrophe. But at the

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[70] Count Thun to Count Mensdorff, September 27, 1865. V. N. A.

[71] Emile Ollivier, op. cit., VII. 530, quotes in this connexion Bazaine's letter to Napoleon of October 19, 1865, in which the marshal expressly says that he has succeeded in "obtaining" energetic measures on the part of the Emperor Maximilian, and also the marshal's letter to Randon, in which Bazaine himself says that the Emperor Maxmilian issued his exceptionally severe decree by his, Bazaine's, advice. It is not very creditable to Bazaine that in the book written by his orderly officer, Count Kératry, he allowed the full responsibility for it to be ascribed to the unhappy Emperor's sole influence, without a word of correction; but in order to reveal the truth he would have had to incriminate his imperial master, Napoleon III, who was then still on the throne, which to a certain extent excuses his negligence.

[72] Napoleon III to Bazaine, Camp of Châlons, August 17, 1865. See Gaulot, op. cit., II. 169.

time everybody hastened to congratulate the Emperor upon his "energy," his "iron hand." Even Count Thun, the Austrian Minister, expressed great satisfaction!

Bazaine supplemented the decree by an "unofficial" order to his officers, in which the war was declared to be a life and death struggle, in which no mercy could be shown and no prisoners taken. And such was the course adopted. As the result of a surprise attack, the Republican leaders Arteaga and Salazar, with other officers, some of them his personal enemies, fell into the hands of the Mexican Colonel Mendez. Though they could in no way be regarded as brigands, Mendez had them shot on the spot, in accordance with the law of October 3. In doing so he was, moreover, satisfying a personal grudge.

These executions of leaders known to be honourable and valiant men, though of republican opinions, which occurred throughout the whole country without previous confirmation by the Emperor Maximilian, raised a universal storm of execration, and only brought Juarez fresh adherents. The struggle now became so bloody and savage that the European troops engaged in it themselves expressed their horror. The new policy caused no improvement in internal conditions. On the contrary, the reports upon them furnished increasingly gloomy reading.

Maury, who was really the immigration commissioner, but had been attached to the Emperor's civil cabinet, sent the Emperor secret and very outspoken reports upon the state of opinion, which revealed a horrible condition of affairs.[73]

The Emperor and Empress, said Maury, had at first been welcomed as saviours. But things had now changed: the ministers were paralysing the Emperor's goodwill, and leading the State to ruin by their greed and untrustworthiness. Maury gave a particularly unfavourable account of the clergy, whom he accused of ignorance, hypocrisy, fetichism, spite, and immorality; they wilfully fomented discord, and stirred up hatred and contempt of the sovereign. If anyone were sentenced to death, the clergy at once proclaimed him a martyr. This was

[73] Maury's secret reports to the Emperor of October 15 and November 19, 1865. V. N. A.

their retaliation for the Emperor's ecclesiastical policy, which had failed to restore their property to the clergy. Public security and communications, and in particular the post, were in a very bad way. The Mexican army could not be said to exist. There were nothing but a few badly organized and ill-disciplined detachments of troops, followed about by innumerable women. The widows of soldiers who were killed were exposed to utter destitution. Nobody worked for the Empire, all parties were thinking of themselves. Maximilian, recommended Maury, should issue his orders firmly, then everybody would obey; he should wear a uniform and surround himself with a brilliant general staff. The report ended with an appeal for the display of more energy and force. In this Maury was at one with Bazaine. The Empress was the only person who came off well, for Maury considered that her beneficence and her conduct were universally praised. This was, however, contradicted by others, who disliked the Empress's pride and haughty bearing. Maury stated his report to be an expression of public opinion, not merely of his own sentiments. In reality it was a mixture of truth and falsehood. The Emperor was no soldier — that was true — and in his position a soldier was undoubtedly called for; but even a soldier of genius would not in the long run have been able to maintain his position. Maury was wrong in holding the Emperor solely responsible for the bad turn of affairs. The evil was more deeply seated: namely, in the general character of the enterprise and the principles upon which it was based, though the personal incompetence of the Emperor naturally made things worse. Moreover, the Emperor no longer met with any support in the press; both the Conservative and the Liberal papers had thrown him over, and nobody read the semi-official and imperialist journals.

Mexico was cursed by a horde of beggars. The prisons were overflowing with adventurers from all quarters of the world, and the police were unable to cope with their task. Everybody felt competent to criticize the Emperor and his Government, but nobody could say how it was to be improved. The ministers profited by the Emperor's periodical absences from the

capital to take a complete holiday. Maury may have drawn too black a picture of the situation, but it was quite gloomy enough. Yet Maximilian still trusted in the main support of his throne, the friendship of the Emperor Napoleon. It was already tottering ominously, but Maximilian refused to recognize this, and would not believe in the warnings, of which there was no lack.

Langlais, the new French financial adviser, who arrived in the Mexican capital in October, brought Maximilian a letter from the Emperor Napoleon.[74] It contained a very flattering reference to the bearer, and very severe strictures on the recipient. The organization of the finances was again the topic, this time in relation to the strength of the army. "The Mexican army," wrote Napoleon, "ought not to exceed 25,000 men with the foreign contingents, and ought to cost only 25,000,000 francs. It can be increased only in proportion as the French troops are reduced. The property of the clergy must be made use of. Honesty must be introduced into the administration, and only such persons admitted to your council as are loyal to the French intervention.

"Finally, I request Your Majesty to come to a decision with regard to all matters concerning French interests, since the original cause of the war was the assertion of the rights of our nationals.

"I hope that America will not trouble the new empire. In any case I shall firmly maintain the rights of intervention; but if this is the case, Your Majesty's Government, on its side, must endeavour to cause us no embarrassment, since France is making such sacrifices for your support."

The Emperor Napoleon had again discussed the situation in Mexico minutely with the King of the Belgians, and complained to him of the unfortunate financial conditions in Mexico. The King replied that the troops must be reinforced till they could be employed as "financial agents," thus serving a double purpose, the safety of the country and the improvement of financial conditions. Napoleon was then considering the raising of Indian troops with foreign (French and Austrian)

[74] Napoleon III to the Emperor Maximilian, Fontainebleau, August 29, 1865; original in V. N. A.

officers, after the fashion of the English colonial troops. Both princes were agreed that the safety and order of the country were the main things, for not till they were secured was prosperity possible. "So-called 'government,'" said King Leopold,[75] "is all very well for the newspapers; but beyond that (i.e., safety, order, and prosperity) it is a mere fiction."

But these were only to be obtained by a strong body of troops, and even the existing weak forces of intervention were a thorn in the flesh to the United States.

The allusion to America in Napoleon III's letter bore evidence to the growing anxiety in Paris on the subject. The Washington Government was making it increasingly clear in Paris that the intervention must come to an end, and that it was confidently expecting the French troops to be recalled shortly. Drouyn de Lhuys, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, felt seriously anxious lest it might be impossible to preserve good relations with the United States, since Lincoln's successor in the presidency was a radical demagogue, who would let himself be led by the mob and the Republicans, to whom the monarchy in Mexico was obnoxious.[76]

Drouyn de Lhuys complained to Metternich that meetings in favour of Juarez in New York were on the increase, that even England could no longer be depended upon, and that he would not be surprised, in certain contingencies, if she were even to make common cause with America. The anxieties of the minister were shared by the sovereign, who kept an anxious eye upon the United States.

Maximilian's reply to the Emperor's letter was full of warm expressions of gratitude for the good and "friendly" counsels of the "greatest sovereign of the age." He said[77] that reassuring accounts were coming in from Washington; the financial

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[75] King Leopold to the Emperor Maximilian, Ostend, September 16, 1865; original in V. N. A.

[76] Prince Metternich to Count Mensdorff on a conversation with Drouyn de Lhuys, August 17, 1865. V. N. A.

[77] The Emperor Maximilian to Napoleon III, Chapultepec, October 29, 1865. V. N. A. Also published in *Papiers et correspondances de la famille impériale*, I. 84; date given there as October 10, 1865; and in Gaulot, op. cit., II. 196, dated October 20, 1865.

situation was difficult for the moment, but not desperate; the real trouble was the prolonged war and the expenditure which it necessitated. Maximilian assured him that the matter of the French claims had been definitively settled, and that he trusted in Napoleon's sincere friendship, which alone enabled him to fulfil his difficult task. Maximilian further stated his intention of sending the Emperor "several volumes," in order to acquaint him with his work of organization up to date in the sphere of politics, administration, and justice.

The whole letter was instinct with confidence in the Emperor's friendship, and revealed no fear that Napoleon III might withdraw his support from Mexico within a measurable period. But they were much dissatisfied with Maximilian in Paris; though neither the Emperor nor the Finance Minister of Mexico knew which way to turn for money, forty million francs had been squeezed out of the Mexican Government on September 27, 1865 on behalf of her French creditors. In spite of this they were displeased that all the remaining exaggerated claims of French creditors had not immediately been satisfied. The blame for this, as Hidalgo wrote from Paris,[78] was laid on the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ramirez, who was unpopular there. In order to prove his goodwill the Emperor Maximilian made up his mind to yield on this point too, and removed the minister on October 9, leaving him merely Secretary of State and president of the Council of State. Yet even this made no impression upon Napoleon, who was listening apprehensively to the rumours from Washington. President Johnson had recently said in an address to the Brazilian Minister that the United States desired to see the countries of America free and independent, whatever their form of government might be. According to Hidalgo's misleading account,[79] these words were intended merely to express his displeasure at the fact that French troops were still left in Mexico, but contained no threat to the continued existence of the Empire. The best means of establishing this, wrote Hidalgo, who followed entirely in the wake of the Emperor and Empress

[78] Hidalgo to the Emperor Maximilian, October 14, 1865. V. N. A.
[79] From Hidalgo's report of October 31, 1865. V. N. A.

of the French, was the withdrawal of the French troops. In this way Maximilian was to be gradually prepared for what was coming. For, in view of the danger threatening from North America, Napoleon was already firmly resolved to withdraw from the enterprise in Mexico as soon as circumstances should allow him to do so honourably. The Empress Eugénie no longer dared to oppose this, for she too had now seen that the main guarantee for a fortunate outcome for the Mexican enterprise, the weakness of the United States, had been gradually disappearing since the end of the war, and that events in Mexico no longer bore out the optimistic view which she had once held. Moreover, opposition to the undertaking was growing in France. The Opposition in the Chamber had acquired unforeseen strength, and chose Mexico as its special point of attack. In her changed state of mind, the Empress also began to draw away from Hidalgo, who, in his endeavours to confirm his position, quite overlooked the fact that he ought to be Maximilian's champion at the French Court, and not vice versa.

This change was already apparent in Hidalgo's reports.[80] He began to allude to the envy, hatred, disfavour, and calumny of which he was the object. Eloin had also spoken very unfavourably about the minister. According to him Hidalgo had no longer any sort of influence in the Empress's salon, and was entirely under the spell of a certain Madame Weller, with whom he had fallen in love. This woman was believed in Paris to be a dangerous Russian spy, and was supposed to have dragged at her chariot-wheels a general in the Ministry for War and a permanent under-secretary of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Drouyn de Lhuys. Hidalgo had been invited to Compiègne in the middle of November for a week, as usual, with the first batch of guests, and, as he himself asserted, had been " received with open arms "; but the change in the Emperor and Empress was clearly to be seen in his reports. The Mexican began to feel that he was playing a losing game, and his main object was to get as much as he could out of it at the

[80] Hidalgo to the Emperor Maximilian, Paris, November 12, 14, 15, 1865. V. N. A.

last moment. He therefore asked Maximilian for an allowance to be assured to him independently of his salary, besides a title worthy of his ancient family. He complained that for the fourth time he had missed a good marriage with a noble lady owing to his poverty. In phrases exuding self-praise he alluded to his "twenty years of work for his fatherland," which had cost him his health, and concluded with a petition for a year's leave. For this purpose he asked for a sum of money, the amount of which he left to the Emperor, with the hint that it ought to be enough to enable him to lead a dignified existence during his leisure. He had already recognized the change in Napoleon's views with regard to Mexican affairs. But, far from giving due warning to his Emperor, as it was his duty to do, Hidalgo, who was perhaps more responsible for Maximilian's tragic end than anybody else, thought of nothing but himself and his own well-being.

Napoleon's feelings had indeed entirely changed. His letter to Bazaine of November 29, 1865 [81] reflected his uneasiness and uncertainty about the prospects of the expedition in Mexico. Bazaine was therefore to see that a national army should at last be formed, so that the French troops could leave the country in due time. "The Emperor Maximilian," wrote Napoleon, "must understand that we cannot stay in Mexico for ever." The Emperor added, sarcastically, that Maximilian ought to build fewer theatres and palaces, and introduce more order into the finances and public security. "He ought to realize," he concluded threateningly, "that a Government that has done nothing to enable it to live on its own resources will be more easily abandoned than supported through thick and thin."

This letter had not yet reached the marshal when Maximilian had already determined to summon Hidalgo to Mexico to report himself. This was a hard blow for the Mexican living comfortably in Paris. He begged plaintively [82] that if he had really got to come, he might have a strong escort from Vera Cruz to Mexico, for he had heard that the coaches were robbed

[81] See Gaulot, op. cit., II. 211.

[82] Hidalgo to the Emperor Maximilian, December 8, 1865. V. N. A.

and many passengers killed. Moreover, he had received a number of anonymous letters from partisans of Juarez. All that this worthy man wanted, now that he began to grow anxious about the consequences of his scheming, was " to be able to live in peace somewhere or other."

The writing of anonymous letters was indeed at its height. The Emperor Maximilian received countless numbers of them, one of which is worthy of special mention, for it warned Maximilian that he was counting too much upon Napoleon, who was constantly engaged in love-affairs, and was consequently degenerating both mentally and physically.

In view of the new anxieties which were arising on all sides, and the necessity of supervising his ministers, who, to use Maximilian's words, " looked as if they really intended to work," and whose zeal he did not wish to check by his departure, the Emperor made up his mind to renounce his long-cherished project of visiting the peninsula of Yucatan, and send the Empress in his stead. She started on November 6. In order to hide his critical position from his family, he explained to his brother why his wife was going without him. The journey, he said, had been announced for so long that he was anxious lest the fact of his staying in the capital might be misinterpreted in Vienna.[83] " The reason," he wrote, " why I am not leaving Mexico is, thank God, a gratifying one; there has been such an improvement in affairs, the organization of the country is making such vigorous progress, the period of legislation is drawing so near to its completion, that it would have been most harmful to let the central control out of my hands at this moment of promising ferment, even for three months."

The Empress was accompanied on her journey by the one-legged General Uraga, Eloin, who had meanwhile returned from Europe, Ramirez, and Escudero, the Minister of Justice. Otherwise, as was her habit, she travelled without any suite.

Maximilian gave her secret instructions on her departure,[84]

[83] The Emperor Maximilian to the Archduke Karl Ludwig, November 18, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

[84] Among the papers in V. N. A.

in which it was laid down that Yucatan must be the centre of gravity for the other States of Central America, which must all be induced to "depend upon this peninsula." For a day would come when a few frontier provinces would come into the possession of the North American Union, which might be willingly ceded to it in exchange for solid gains in Central America, "for," wrote the Emperor, "our true orientation consists in regarding the Empire as the central power in the new continent, while conceding the dominion of the north to the United States, and that of the south to the Brazilian Empire."

We can see from this that Maximilian still clung to his ideas of greatness and power, and was only thinking of arriving at a compromise with the North by means of a territorial concession. It was clear from this trend of his thoughts that he was still far from regarding his position as untenable.

Yet another incident testified to Maximilian's firm intention of staying in Mexico. Jesús Terán, President Juarez's plenipotentiary in Europe, who had made his appearance at Miramar before the Archduke accepted the throne, and implored him not to embark upon such an adventure, had recently visited De Pont in Vienna. Terán explained to the baron [85] that the Emperor's position was most critical, there was not a single party actually supporting him; Maximilian had made a mortal enemy of the higher clergy by his laws, and the necessity for still carrying on the war ruined all possibility of financial order. The United States said nothing for the moment, since it had differences to clear up with England, and did not want to have two great powers on its hands at the same time; but he, Terán, had letters from Washington in his possession which showed beyond a doubt that the United States would not remain neutral in the Mexican question. It was the political party which had been defeated in the struggles before the intervention which, out of rage and a desire for vengeance, had represented to foreign powers that conditions prevailing in Mexico were so anarchical, and had thus induced them to

[85] Jesús Terán to Baron De Pont, October 17, 1865, from the account of this conversation in V. N. A.

intervene. Terán assured him that sooner or later a catastrophe would happen to Maximilian, a humiliating fall; he ought to withdraw while there was yet time; he could very well explain, in so doing, that he had come to bring happiness to the Mexicans, but not to sacrifice them to the maintenance of his throne. De Pont reported this to Maximilian with the remark[86] that Terán produced upon him the impression of a calm observer with a keen understanding of his country, rather than of an impassioned partisan. He seemed to be free from animus against the Emperor and to have a great respect for him. Since the situation in Mexico was not regarded with much optimism in Europe, the baron therefore felt it to be his duty to repeat this suggestion, which was to be regarded as coming only unofficially from Juarez.

Maximilian answered by return of post.[87] He admitted that all that Gutierrez and his associates had said had been utterly false, which was comprehensible in view of their absence from the country for a quarter of a century, but Terán too, in his different fashion, saw things in too gloomy a light. The Emperor assured De Pont that he desired a compromise with Juarez, but in this sense: that Juarez should recognize the real majority of the nation, which wanted calm, peace, and prosperity, and help him with his undeniable intelligence and iron energy in the heavy task which he had assumed. "If, as I believe," the Emperor wrote, "he really desires the good of Mexico, he must soon see that no Mexican has such warm feelings for his country and its progress as I, and that I am working with the utmost goodwill and honesty; so let him come and help me faithfully and sincerely, and I will receive him as I would any good Mexican."

The Emperor Maximilian also assured him repeatedly in this letter that he had never harboured illusions, though he proved the contrary by the very fact of supposing such a reconciliation possible. The Emperor was unacquainted with Juarez's hard and unbending character, and was therefore unable

[86] Baron De Pont to the Emperor Maximilian, October 28, 1865. V. N. A.

[87] The Emperor Maximilian to Baron De Pont, December 8, 1865. V. N. A. Printed among others by Domenech, op. cit., III. 341.

to imagine what an impassable gulf lay between him and the Indian.

It was also possible that he regarded the racial origin of his opponent as a promising factor, for he had already entered eagerly into the question of how the Indians — in contradistinction to the white men, the *gente di razón* (rational people), whose pride was out of all proportion to their numbers — were to be helped and freed from oppression. So far Maximilian had not succeeded in this, owing to the opposition of the white element in the population, which was on a higher intellectual and social level. Thus the Indians had lost faith in him, and those of Spanish descent took even the attempt he had made amiss. Whichever way he turned, whatever he took in hand, he could satisfy nobody.

In addition to this, the incessant dissensions between Bazaine and the Austrian General Count Thun, who was always at the Emperor's ear with his complaints, were absolutely unbearable. The temporary reverses suffered by small bodies of Austrians, while the French were advancing in the province of Sonora, had given the marshal an opportunity of complaining to the French Minister for War. The latter, tired of the everlasting unpleasantnesses, and, like the whole of France for long past, opposed to the expedition in Mexico, reported the matter to his imperial master,[88] and angrily recommended that instead "of getting more and more involved in Mexico," French action should be replaced by Mexican; i.e., that the Mexican, Austrian, and Belgian troops alone should take over the support of the Empire. This was yet another step towards the recall of the French.

Randon's insistence confirmed Napoleon in his conviction that a way must be found out of the Mexican embarrassments as quickly as possible. He expressed himself very circumspectly to d'Hérillier, who had returned to Paris, for he was known to be a friend of the Mexican Emperor and Empress,[89] but the general could not fail to see that the Emperor seemed very

[88] Marshal Randon to the Emperor Napoleon III, October 5, 1865; see Randon: *Mémoires*, II. 102.

[89] General E. d'Hérillier to the Empress Charlotte, Douai, November 27, 1865. V. N. A.

much exercised by the length of the French occupation. He and Randon were now insisting upon a speedy reorganization of the Mexican army. D'Hérillier had a most exhaustive two hours' conversation with the Empress Eugénie, at which all the most important points concerning Mexico were gone into. The Empress now joined issue with Maximilian's proceedings in the ecclesiastical question, which had led to such evil consequences, and gave it as her opinion that the steps taken against the clergy were impolitic in dealing with a body of their undoubted influence. The Empress now forgot that the clergy had originally been attacked most vigorously from the French side, that only six months ago she and the Emperor had said to General Douay that Maximilian's ecclesiastical decree ought to have been issued before, and, finally, that Maximilian's enlightened method of government, and consequently his attitude towards the Church question, had their chief origin in Napoleon's liberal intentions, which he did not wish to see belied by the new monarchy supported by French arms. The Emperor Maximilian had done as Paris wanted, but when success was denied him, it was *he* who was blamed, while the others withdrew into the background.

D'Hérillier's opinion was that, however well-informed the Empress Eugénie might be, she could have no idea of the true character of the clergy in Mexico; and so he evaded this thorny question, so as not to wound his sovereign's religious sentiments. The Empress displayed even greater naïveté when, having just re-read the history of the conquest of Mexico by Hernando Cortés with his handful of daring followers, she asked d'Hérillier why so many men were needed to pacify Mexico *now!* D'Hérillier tried to make the Empress understand that the situation was quite different now, that past and present conditions could not be compared, since the military equipment at the disposal of conqueror and conquered was quite different, and that Cortés was assisted by Indian tribes having at their disposal a very different organization and power, which Maximilian entirely lacked. The Empress's predominant idea now was the rapid organization of a national army, which should allow of the total, or at least partial return of the French

troops. She recognized with horror that by her impassioned advocacy of the Mexican enterprise she had driven her imperial consort, and France with him, into a perilous adventure. She now began to waver, and her solution, too, was to get out of this thorny place as quickly as possible. Still inspired by the spirit of the advice sent through Bazaine with regard to the momentous edict of October 3, Napoleon once again inculcated upon Maximilian, through the agency of d'Hérillier, that he should show the greatest energy in suppressing "brigandage" —as the Emperor always called everything pertaining to Juarez —since "the time for leniency was gone by"; it would be more prudent to issue fewer decrees and carry them out strictly, rather than a mass of laws which soon became a dead letter.

These admonitions seem to have been repeated by King Leopold, who was already sadly weakened by illness, but still full of interest in the fate of his children in Mexico. He considered that the sacrifices made by France in Mexico, great though they were, were still insufficient, and that it would be necessary to increase the strength of the French army in Mexico for a few years longer, at the same time intimating to the press that it should express itself with more reserve on the situation there. The Belgian reverse at Tacambaro had been very unwelcome to King Leopold, for the country had received the news with uneasiness, and the recruiting for the Belgian corps had suffered, especially as Rogier, the Minister-President, was opposed to sending fresh Belgian reinforcements, on account of the great expense.

So long as King Leopold lived, he supported and encouraged his children in their enterprise as much as he could, for he had had a good share in their rash decision. He had never wearied of championing their cause to Queen Victoria. The recognition of the Empire, and the appointment of an English Minister in Mexico, were to no small extent due to his constant insistence. But now he was nearing the end of his days. During his later years he had suffered severely from the stone, which had necessitated a number of painful operations, very weakening to his otherwise excellent constitution.

In October 1865 died Lord Palmerston, the statesman who, in contrast with almost all his colleagues in the ministry, had judged the Mexican enterprise in a friendly spirit, all the more so since it had been started by the Emperor Napoleon, whom he had always favoured, and whose *coup d'état* he had been the first to recognize at the time. That very summer he had written to thank Maximilian for a letter brought him by Eloin,[90] and assured the Emperor that everybody in his country believed in the success of the great task which he had taken upon himself. Lord Palmerston even went so far as to say that Maximilian's successes were to the advantage of all Europe, and that he believed the United States would have so much to do with their own reconstruction after their devastating war that it was more than likely that they would abstain from disturbing him in any way. No importance can be given to the letter; it had no practical value, and now the kindly writer had departed this life.

His death had drawn from the sick King of the Belgians the exclamation that, now that his most obstinate opponent had fallen, he would soon follow.[91]

The last letter [92] of Maximilian's which reached his father-in-law contained the news of the " ruthlessly severe " law of October 3 and promising reports from North America: the President was now beginning " to become amenable, and even friendly." This was a result of the false information which had reached the Emperor from his agents in New York. Two further letters,[93] dealing with the Empress's journey to Yucatan, arrived too late. King Leopold was already very unwell when he wrote to his son-in-law on November 12.[94] The letter contained the following true remark: " What counts in Amer-

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[90] Lord Palmerston to the Emperor Maximilian, Piccadilly, July 17, 1865. V. N. A.

[91] See E. C. Corti: *Leopold I von Belgien*, p. 268.

[92] The Emperor Maximilian to King Leopold, Chapultepec, October 27, 1865; original in V. N. A.

[93] The same to the same, Chapultepec, November 18 and December 17, 1865; originals in V. N. A.

[94] King Leopold to the Emperor Maximilian, Ardennes, November 12, 1865; original in V. N. A.



LEOPOLD I, KING OF THE BELGIANS

ica is success — everything else is mere poetry and waste of money"; but he was already very confused, and broke off short with the words: "And now God bless you, I can say no more." The King was right; Palmerston had been dead only a few weeks when he followed him, on December 10, 1865.

In him and Palmerston the Mexican Emperor and Empress lost two of their most valuable supports and advocates in Europe. King Leopold had once written:[95] "The Emperor Napoleon has in a certain sense accredited me for all your affairs; that is most useful, and often gives you the chance of saying through me what it is difficult to say to him directly."

Bazaine's concentration scheme, by which he had ordered the garrison back from the north, even from such large places as Monterey, had grave consequences for the population, which was handed over to the vengeance of the Juaristas. Maximilian sent repeated messages to Bazaine both by word of mouth and by letter,[96] representing to him that by this means any confidence in the imperial cause that there was in the country would be lost; public opinion in the United States would obtain an entirely false impression, and, what was more, the excellent General Mejía in Matamoros was getting into a more and more difficult position. The last named had reported a conversation he had had with a commissary of the Washington Government, according to which the United States were well-disposed towards recognizing the Empire; but the reports of the generals stationed on the Rio Bravo as to the situation on the frontier were so unfavourable that this intention had been frustrated, or at least postponed. There was only one means of obtaining it: the pacification of the northern frontier.[97] But Marshal Bazaine behaved as if he were deaf. For fresh expeditions did not square with his Emperor's plans, who, as Bazaine had already gathered from numerous intimations, desired to evacuate Mexico as quickly as possible. Nor was there any

[95] King Leopold to the Emperor Maximilian, Laeken, December 28, 1864; original in V. N. A.

[96] The Emperor Maximilian to Bazaine, Palace of Mexico, November 10, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

[97] The same to the same, Palace of Mexico, November 29, 1865; draft in V. N. A. Not in Gaulot.

easing of the financial situation. Langlais did indeed arrive in Mexico, but he was ill, and it at once became clear that no exertions could be expected of him.[98]

As military reverses followed thick and fast in different parts of the country, the Emperor Maximilian's annoyance at Bazaine's apathy increased, for, as the Emperor said, "he was too much occupied with his young wife." [99]

As every dismal report came in, he wrote to the marshal. For instance, a "governing power" had established itself at Tlacotlalpam, Dissidents had appeared at the very gates of Vera Cruz,[100] and an opposition movement had broken out at La Paz, the capital of Lower California.[101] Reports came in from New York that all this news did untold damage, for it was everywhere taken as proof that the Emperor was not in a position to crush the opposition of the people, and was losing ground daily.[102]

Maximilian begged Bazaine over and over again to take counter-measures. The marshal turned and twisted, and was the less inclined to consent since he heard that the Emperor of Mexico was not at all well spoken of in Paris. Such was indeed the case. Metternich [103] reported to Vienna that at the Court of Paris Maximilian was being reproached with extravagance and duplicity. They complained that his character was not very frank or dependable, and that he took far too light-hearted a view of the never-ending internal complications. The ambassador was of opinion that the Mexican question paralysed Napoleon's forces more than was believed, and would yet be followed by incalculable consequences.

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[98] The Emperor Maximilian to Napoleon III, December 8, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

[99] The Emperor Maximilian to King Leopold, December 17, 1865; never received by the King. Original was lying concealed in V. N. A.

[100] The Emperor Maximilian to Bazaine, Chapultepec, December 14, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

[101] The same to the same, Palace of Mexico, December 17, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

[102] The same to the same, Palace of Mexico, December 19, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

[103] Prince Metternich to Count Mensdorff, December 22, 1865. V. N. A.

It looked as if all things were conspiring against Maximilian. The last pillars upon which his tottering edifice rested were becoming more and more fragile, and his main support, Napoleon, was giving under him ominously. Napoleon's one idea was now to liquidate the whole business. He saw uneasy visions of how quickly the weak French contingents would succumb to superior forces, in the event of war breaking out with the United States, and how terribly his prestige would suffer, not only in the New World but in the Old. He now clung to the idea advocated by Randon, that of involving the other nations, and especially Austria, in the broil instead of himself. Austria was now to undertake single-handed to protect this scion of her ruling house, and thus enable Napoleon to withdraw. No sooner said than done. The Emperor wrote to Maximilian,[104] and laid before him the following idea, which, if carried out, might in his opinion be "rich in good results. . . . Today," he wrote, "I will only set forth to you the advantages which it would have for the whole world, if Your Majesty were to organize a real army with Austrian troops. When that has been done, I can withdraw the greater part of our troops, which would deprive the Americans of all pretext for their objections. This would make the war in Mexico less unpopular in France, and would give your Government an appearance of stability, which would contribute towards increasing confidence in the future. I request Your Majesty to make this matter your principal concern, for in such an arrangement I see the best prospect for the consolidation of your throne."

The proposal was open to objection on more than one ground. It was hard to see why the United States should be more ready to tolerate the protection of the Empire in Mexico by Austrian troops than by French. Moreover, in view of the attitude hitherto taken up by Austria, Napoleon ought to have considered that she would never embark upon such an adventure. Further, he did not take into account the latent opposition between Maximilian and his brother.

Napoleon's letter may not have been directly intended to

[104] Napoleon III to the Emperor Maximilian, Biarritz, September 14, 1865; original in V. N. A.

dupe Maximilian, but it was at least very characteristic of his feverish endeavours to wash his hands of Mexico as soon as possible; and it was these endeavours which led him to give such contradictory advice to his former protégé.

Napoleon's exposure of himself in this letter made the worst possible impression upon Maximilian. For the first time he saw himself threatened with the danger of being deserted by Napoleon as well, but even now he still refused to believe in this disaster. He still reckoned upon the French Emperor's personal friendship. Towards the end of December he resolved to answer the Emperor in detail,[105] to pour out his heart to him and give him a plain unvarnished account of the situation. He first discussed Napoleon's counsel with regard to the Austrian troops, alluding to it as "a happy one," like all that sprang from the Emperor's "lofty intelligence"; but before embarking upon such a novel course, Napoleon ought to know that he had not always been so well seconded in Mexico as he had a right to expect. It was to be hoped that Langlais would make proposals which should be of assistance to the finances, but the pacification of the country must be the preliminary condition of this. The civil war required sixty million francs a year, and was exhausting the resources of the Mexican State. Bazaine, who had been entrusted with the organization of the national army two days after Maximilian's arrival, had no results to show. The Emperor had never faltered in his intention of forming an army; on the contrary, he desired it more than ever. But French troops had been prematurely sent home at a time when insurgent bands were prowling within two hours of the capital, and recently formed units had been hastily thrown into the fray before they were thoroughly organized. How could tactics be defended which consisted in occupying important points only to evacuate them a week later, thereby sacrificing all those who had declared for the Empire, as had happened at Monterey, for example, three times in succession? Who was it that had brought moral pressure upon him to sanction the arrangement with Jecker the banker, to which he had

[105] The Emperor Maximilian to Napoleon III, Chapultepec, December 27, 1865; draft in V. N. A.

reconciled himself only because he thought he was "doing a genuine service" to his "best friend, the Emperor Napoleon"?

"I tell Your Majesty frankly," wrote Maximilian after these outbursts, aimed at Bazaine and Montholon, "this situation is a difficult one for me; I add, as a good and true friend, that it is dangerous both for you and for me; for you, in that your glorious reputation suffers by it; for me, since my intentions, which are, moreover, yours too, cannot be carried into effect. Such military and financial proceedings will be the ruin of the great idea of the regeneration of Mexico; I cannot govern without order and economy in the finances, with an ever-increasing deficit. I can do nothing lasting with a population whose confidence is shaken at every moment by such very questionable protection, for everybody knows that, if the *guerrilleros* return, everyone who has declared for the Empire will be hanged or shot without mercy, and people are naturally careful not to express their sympathy for a Government which is unable to protect its subjects. . . .

"Whatever may happen," continued the Emperor, "my mind is set at rest for the future by the thought that nobody could succeed in shaking the confidence and intimate friendship prevailing between the two emperors. If anybody could at any time have conceived such an idea, I am convinced that my entire sincerity would dissipate all doubts. If we persist in the same course and the same plans and views, we shall triumph over all obstacles, and this unhappy Mexican nation will more than ever bless the glorious name of Napoleon III. . . .

"The European press has for some time past given it to be understood that Your Majesty had the intention of withdrawing your troops after a short interval. . . . I must inform Your Majesty that such a statement would undo in a day the work laboriously built up by three years of exertion, and that the publication of such an intention, together with the refusal of the United States to recognize my Government, would suffice to shatter all the hopes of those well-disposed to me, and for ever to annihilate public confidence. . . . Nay, more: the honour of the French army itself would be severely

compromised before the public opinion of all America, which would not fail to ascribe its premature withdrawal to quite a different reason. Time is an indispensable aid in the restoration of a nation that has been shattered for half a century, and has 16,000 armed *guerrilleros* in its midst, scattered over almost the whole area of the country. The Mexican nation does not despair of its future, since it knows that Your Majesty has made a formal declaration that your troops will not leave Mexico until their Commander-in-Chief has pacified the country and crushed all opposition. To tell it the opposite now, would be to give the signal for the gravest alarm and to conjure up the most disastrous consequences. In order to arrive at a complete agreement, which affords the sole possibility of clearing up the situation, I have communicated to Your Majesty in this letter my most secret convictions. I now request you to reward my frankness with a like frankness, to inform me, as a true friend, of all the mistakes I have committed, and to give me your advice, of which I am always proud, since it comes from the most able mind of our century, and from a friend whom I have loved from the first day upon which I had the good fortune to make his acquaintance."

This letter reveals the Emperor's inmost nature better than any other. He dealt with Napoleon sincerely, as man to man; he still cherished a genuine friendship for the man who had helped him to his crown, and still believed in him. There was no trace here of the over-sanguine tone which characterizes most of Maximilian's other letters. But the letter was far too frank, more so than such a man as Napoleon III could stand. The flattery in the last sentence could not hide the fact that the letter had coldly stated that it was not compatible with the honour of the French army to abandon its work unceremoniously, nor was it possible for the Emperor's personal honour to survive breaking a solemn promise. Napoleon, who had for long past resolved to leave Mexico in the lurch, must have been stung to the quick by Maximilian's words. They entirely failed to produce the desired effect of changing the mind of the Emperor, whose most important personal interests were bound up with the affair. Napoleon was merely still more estranged

from Maximilian, who had caused him fresh embarrassments and unpleasantnesses. Thus the letter did not conciliate the Emperor or improve matters; it merely depressed him. The mask was now but loosely held before his face. Before long he was to throw it off entirely.

CHAPTER IX

CRITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

General sentiment of the country — The United States threaten Napoleon — He throws over Maximilian — The Dupin incident — Withdrawal of the French troops decided upon — Eloin visits Napoleon — Feeling in Paris — The Empress Eugénie throws up the game — Fall of Hidalgo — Maximilian urges pacification upon Bazaine — He gives way to him in everything — False reports from the United States — Father Fischer's "feuilletons" *about the Roman Curia — Bombelles's mission to Vienna — Hungary's attempt to agitate against the Family Pact — Bazaine receives full powers — The marshal's promises — Counsels of energy — Comparison with the position of King Joseph in Spain — Contrast with the Emperor's private life — Gutierrez requested to come to Mexico — He is careful not to — His reactionary advice — Napoleon defends himself against the charge of breaking his agreements — He arouses fresh hopes — Loysel's mission — Susceptibilities of the Emperor and Empress of the French — Charlotte's indignant reply — Loysel abandons Maximilian — Rességuier's reports from New York — Army reorganization — Austria also gives way before the United States — The concordat unattainable — Napoleon's irresolution — Critical military situation — Difficulties with the volunteer troops — Maximilian desires a collective guarantee*

from Europe — Almonte's mission abortive — Fresh peremptory demands from Napoleon — Maximilian disillusioned — He contemplates abdicating — The Empress Charlotte intervenes — She determines to visit Napoleon and the Pope — Her outspoken memorandum to her consort — She uses the word "cowardice" — Her departure — The war of 1866 — Maximilian's break with Austria — He follows Gutierrez's advice — Bazaine withdraws the troops instead of taking the offensive — The military situation becomes more threatening — Father Fischer's return from Europe — His position.

ON HEARING THAT QUARRELS HAD BROKEN OUT IN THE enemy camp, Maximilian's hopes of a favourable solution once more revived. The legal term of Juarez's presidency had expired on November 30, 1865, and by the terms of the Constitution, if no fresh elections were possible, the supreme power was to be provisionally transferred to the President of the Supreme Court, Jesús Gonzalez Ortega. Juarez took advantage of his full powers to prolong his presidency. Ortega attacked him, but had to yield to Juarez's energetic countermeasures. In spite of this, Ortega could not bring himself to rally to the Empire; he wanted to be President of the Republic himself. And so these disagreements did not have the desired result for the Emperor.

Maury's reports on "public opinion" in the country were very gloomy reading. A report [1] which he sent in at the New Year, 1866, said that the Emperor's ministers were being reproached with greed, ill will, and incapacity, while the clergy was still the chief source of all evil.

The financial situation grew worse and worse, till it became a running sore. Regardless of this, the French Government and the French inhabitants, reckoning upon support from home, kept putting forward fresh claims upon the State Treasury. On January 4 a nephew of Jecker's waited upon the Emperor, and, drawing his attention to an agreement concluded by Maximilian with Jecker in August 1865 through the agency

[1] Maury to the Emperor Maximilian, January 8, 1866. V. N. A.

of Montholon, demanded payment of the instalment due. The Emperor complained to Langlais that this fatal agreement, wrung from him by guile and constraint, made him liable for the "crushing sum" of two million piastres, thus depriving the State of all the resources which it required at the beginning of the year. He tried to evade fulfilling the agreement by mentioning the fact that the only money at his disposal was that provided by the loans, and that the whole of this must remain at the disposal of the French Government.

But Jecker's nephew pressed his claims urgently, and asserted that things had been so arranged in Paris that the paymaster-general of the French army in Mexico had even received orders to give Jecker's claims precedence over those of the French Treasury.[2] Such was the audacity of this speculator, who had so far been supported by powerful personages in Paris. Meanwhile the Duc de Morny had died, and Napoleon had himself seen what severe criticism had been excited by the connexion of the French State with this banking-house, which did not enjoy a very good reputation; so Jecker was now cold-shouldered in Paris. Langlais, too, was furious with Jecker, and so the two million pesos (ten million francs) were never paid. It was quite bad enough that in the previous year more than 2,500,000 pesos (12,660,000 francs) had found their way into the possession of the bank.

Bazaine was accused of interested dealings with Jecker, but he had nothing to do with the business. The support given to the financier was mainly to be ascribed to Morny and his confidant Saligny. The marshal was therefore able to defend himself to Randon against this rumour with perfect truth. But he suspected Maximilian of having reported the rumour to Paris, and so a fresh cause of distrust arose between them.

In the year 1865 the correspondence between the Emperor and the marshal had been largely filled with Bazaine's complaints of individual officials of the Emperor's, Francophobe

[2] The Emperor Maximilian to Langlais, January 4, 1866. V. N. A.

editors,[3] and so forth; but the tables were now turned. In the first half of January 1866 the Emperor complained almost daily of Bazaine's inaction and the Juaristas' corresponding increase in audacity. The marshal tried to attribute what were only the natural results of his evacuation orders to treason on the part of the imperialist officials, or else to the irregular payment of the Mexican troops, and the incapacity of the *gardes rurales,* a sort of local *gendarmerie,* which had been instituted by the Emperor Maximilian against Bazaine's wishes. The marshal held that these guards had been organized for the express purpose of strengthening the Dissidents.[4] The general discontent was exasperated by quarrels between the Austro-Belgian troops on the one hand and the Mexican imperialist troops on the other,[5] and between both of these and the French.

Maximilian told himself that in future he must press Bazaine more vigorously, in order at last to induce him to give his entire attention to the pacification of the country, which was absolutely necessary. In Michoacán, the province extending westward of Mexico City to the Pacific, and also in the south, conditions had of late become particularly critical. "What will be thought of us abroad," wrote Maximilian to Bazaine,[6] "when they learn that, only fifty miles from the capital, there is a whole province that cannot be subdued, with a republican army in it that we cannot defeat?" The Emperor pressed for information as to what measures had been planned to put down insurrection in these regions, and when the campaign was to open.

The marshal's letter of January 4, informing him of a number of risings throughout the country, still further increased the anxieties of the Emperor, who was, however, all the more firmly resolved not to yield. The main causes of all these

[3] See Bazaine's letters to the Emperor Maximilian of April 22 and 24, September 25, 1865; originals in V. N. A.

[4] Marshal Bazaine to the Emperor Maximilian, January 4 and 6, 1866; originals in V. N. A.

[5] The same to the same, January 9, 1866; original in V. N. A.

[6] The Emperor Maximilian to Marshal Bazaine, Cuernavaca, January 5, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

incidents seemed to him to be contempt for the laws to which allegiance had been sworn, an inveterate revolutionary spirit, but also the insufficient numbers of the French troops. "But however troublesome these events may be," wrote the Emperor to the marshal,[7] "and they are indeed grave, they ought not to discourage us; I know that one cannot extirpate the revolutionary spirit in a day, and I know, too, that I have undertaken a task of unprecedented difficulty; but my courage is equal to bearing the burden, and I shall go on resolutely to the end."

In order to deprive Bazaine of all excuse, the Emperor requested him to mention all the civil officials whom he considered disloyal, and promised to replace them by others who enjoyed the marshal's confidence. With regard to the *gardes rurales,* Bazaine, as commander-in-chief of the army, had certainly the right to deal with them. But if he thought an imperial order desirable, the alterations he proposed should form the subject of one. The marshal's reproach that the troops got too little pay seriously disturbed Maximilian. Was it not the army which devoured the entire revenue of the country, and had compelled him to set aside even the most important reforms?

Yet the Emperor would not shake off his illusions. Perhaps, he thought, the present crisis of unrest which was blazing up again was merely the rebels' last effort to attract the attention of the United States. Perhaps, as in 1864, the French army would master it again, but then leniency would no longer be in place.

Bazaine replied at once, mentioning the names of a few officials whom he disliked, among them Hernandez, the imperial *visitador* of the province of Michoacán, who had openly said that the Emperor was more liberal than was supposed, and would, if necessary, replace the name "Empire" by that of "Republic"; but that he could do nothing so long as his hands were tied by French intervention. In dealing with such cases the marshal recommended that the evil should be extir-

[7] The Emperor Maximilian to Marshal Bazaine, Cuernavaca, January 6, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

pated root and branch, and that the minister who had appointed such persons should be expelled from his position.[8]

The Emperor Maximilian informed Bazaine [9] by return of post that he would carry out the desired changes in the appointment of prefects.[10]

On the same day the Emperor received the news of the capture of the port of Bagdad by the Juaristas, which he felt as a disgrace to the imperialist arms, but which was also most painful to him since it gave the Americans a fresh handle for asserting that the imperialists were making no headway against their opponents. Maximilian was now able to point out, in opposition to Bazaine, how right he had been in always urging on him the pacification of the northern frontier.

Maximilian was now firmly resolved to give way to all Bazaine's wishes, so as to deprive him of all pretext for further delay. So he had hardly received Bazaine's letter, with its allusions to the attitude of certain ministers, when he requested the marshal to tell him quite frankly which persons in the ministry formed in his opinion an obstacle to the establishment of peace.[11] The Emperor also put himself entirely into the marshal's hands in the matter of the quarrels which had arisen between the Belgian-Austrian and the Mexican troops.

"It is indeed," wrote the Emperor to Bazaine, "a deplorable evil; the time for tentative efforts and half measures has gone beyond recall, and so has that for idle mutual recriminations; I therefore entrust to you, as commander-in-chief of the Franco-Mexican army, the preparation of a regulation, to be submitted for my approval, which shall obviate these misunderstandings in future by regulating the mutual relations and rights of command within the different bodies of troops,

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[8] Marshal Bazaine to the Emperor Maximilian, January 10, 1866. V. N. A.

[9] The Emperor Maximilian to Bazaine, Alcazar de Chapultepec, January 11, 1866; copy in V. N. A.

[10] The appointment of the prefect Zires and the removal of the prefect of Aguascalientes were specially mentioned.

[11] The Emperor Maximilian to Bazaine, first letter of January 12, 1866. This passage in Maximilian's letter is suppressed by Gaulot, who gives only a second section of the letter, relating to Dupin.

all of which are under your exclusive command. Nobody will know better than you how to mature a clear and practical scheme and nobody will be better able to supervise its carrying out." [12]

In spite of the alarming financial stringency, Maximilian also agreed that the uniforms and equipment for the Mexican troops asked for by Bazaine should as far as possible be provided. He hoped that by yielding to the French marshal in everything, he would again get upon good terms with him, which was absolutely necessary, since he saw that ultimately everything depended upon the French and their commander-in-chief.

But now another incident occurred to mar the relations between them, the cause of which was the notorious Colonel Dupin, the leader of the so-called "counter-guerrilla" movement, who was hated and feared for his cruelty.

At Maximilian's desire he had been sent to France in the autumn of 1865, in the hope that the Minister for War would keep him there. But Dupin managed to obtain an audience of Napoleon and spoke so strongly to the Emperor of the possibility of pacifying Mexico with a couple of thousand gendarmes and "the utmost severity" — this was how he alluded to his death-sentences — that the Emperor sent him back to Mexico. Maximilian had sent his request for the removal of Dupin to Bazaine in the form of an order, accompanied by his reasons. When Dupin reappeared in Mexico, the Emperor saw in this an act of intentional disobedience; he immediately expressed to Bazaine his intense astonishment at

[12] The Emperor Maximilian to Bazaine, Chapultepec, January 12, 1866; copy in V. N. A. Not in Gaulot, who entirely omits the important letters of Maximilian to Bazaine of January 6 and 11, besides the second letter of January 12 and that of January 23, 1866; nor is Bazaine's highly important letter to Maximilian of January 19, 1866, with his promise to undertake a fresh pacification of the country, mentioned. These are precisely the letters in which Maximilian yields to Bazaine on every point, concedes all that the marshal asks of him, and receives his promises. Probably Ernest Louet, who placed Bazaine's materials at the disposal of Gaulot, did not receive these letters from the marshal, which would be highly significant. The next letter quoted by Gaulot is a letter of Maximilian's of February 5, 1866, again favourable to Bazaine, in which the Emperor thanks the marshal in cordial terms for the financial assistance which he has given him.

the colonel's return and desired to know what reasons had prevented the imperial "instructions" from being carried out.[13] Maximilian knew how Dupin was hated, and at his reception on January 15, 1866 he openly observed to the French Minister, Dano, in the presence of the other diplomatists: "I had forbidden Dupin's return, and hope that in future my orders will be carried out. It is the first time that I have been disobeyed since I have been in the country; but I intend to be obeyed and shall take care that I am. Notify the marshal of this from me." [14]

On the very day the Emperor said this, Bazaine had sent him a written apology stating that Dupin's return was due to an order from Randon, the Minister for War. But now, when he heard from Dano of the Emperor's public reprimand, he retorted with a sharp letter to the sovereign,[15] ending with a veiled hint that he would protest to Napoleon. Bazaine also complained to the Austrian Minister, Count Thun, that the Emperor placed every possible obstacle in his way in the dispatch of current business. Thun's opinion was that the Emperor did not want to be merely Bazaine's "man of straw." [16] On the other hand, Baron Lago, who shortly afterwards succeeded Count Thun, reported that Bazaine was endeavouring to weaken the Imperial Government in his own interest, and to make the sovereign as dependent upon himself as possible. It was to these attempts that Lago also ascribed his obstruction of the army organization and the tacit struggle which was going on between the marshal and the military and civil authorities in Mexico.[17]

But the Emperor insisted that at last the marshal should make up his mind. And so nothing was left to Bazaine but to define his attitude once and for all in detail, and state his future intentions. Meanwhile Bazaine must already have gathered

[13] The Emperor Maximilian to Bazaine, January 23, 1866; draft in V. N. A. V. N. A. (first letter of this date).

[14] From the dispatch of the Austrian Minister, Count Thun, to Count Mensdorff, January 17, 1866. V. N. A.

[15] See Gaulot, op. cit., II. 221.

[16] Count Thun to Count Mensdorff, Mexico, January 19, 1866. V. N. A.

[17] Baron Lago to Count Mensdorff, Mexico, April 26, 1866. V. N. A.

from Napoleon's letter of November 29, 1865, which had arrived early in January, that the French troops would not be staying in Mexico much longer. The terms of the letter which he addressed to Maximilian on January 19, 1866 were therefore all the more remarkable.[18]

"So soon," it ran, "as the troops have received all the reinforcements from France and are so far organized as to be able to undertake a fresh campaign, it is my intention to dispatch them in every direction in the Empire at once, and Your Majesty will then see that it is not the military situation in Mexico which ought to cause the greatest anxiety."

Bazaine stated as the reason for his "momentary inactivity" that he was bound to give the harassed troops time to recover; they had had incessantly to pursue bands fleeing in every direction through this vast country, and had suffered great hardships. He also mentioned the necessity for taking precautions against the menace from the United States, as well as his sovereign's instructions.

Maximilian had just heard that it was again proposed to reduce the French forces; also that various French officers were saying that the detachments under their command would shortly be recalled to the capital.

In such circumstances the "categorical assurance" from the marshal that he would soon dispatch his troops in every direction in the Empire was a real satisfaction to him. The bad military situation had been his worst trouble recently, for he said to himself that the large majority in the country had hoped for the end of the civil war, but now, instead of peace and quiet, they saw the war dragging on interminably. This had converted the original enthusiasm first into indifference and later into hatred. Maximilian answered Bazaine as if the Washington Government had called upon him to restore order on the northern frontier. He could not help observing that there would not have been so many risings in the country if troops had not been sent home out of regard for public opinion in France. And even now that this had been done, opinion in France remained the same.

[18] Bazaine to the Emperor Maximilian, January 19, 1866; original in V. N. A.

"However that may be," concluded the Emperor's letter,[19] "I have full confidence in your promise soon to clear up the military question; I know that nobody is better fitted than you to fulfil this difficult task, and I take this opportunity of giving you my sincere thanks."

At that time Maximilian received encouraging news from Count Rességuier, who was once more abroad on a mission. In New York the count had come to the conclusion that the dangers threatening the Empire from the United States were decreasing daily and would shortly dwindle into an "empty phantom," unless something entirely unexpected were to change the course of events. "Political and distinguished personages," he reported,[20] "have expressed themselves upon various occasions with a frankness which clearly shows that people are beginning to consider and discuss the Mexican business in the United States dispassionately."

The Emperor was pleased with this over-sanguine estimate of the state of affairs in the United States, and hoped soon to have good news about the concordat too. Not satisfied with sending the commission of three and Father Fischer to Rome, he dispatched a third messenger after them, a certain Monsieur de Guillemard from Madrid, who was provided with letters of introduction from Queen Maria Cristina to the Holy Father. "He should above all," ran his instructions, "get into touch with those powerful personages who exert a subterranean influence at the Roman Court, and frequently render it possible to arrive at a solution behind the back of the official functionaries."

In spite of this, Fischer continued to enjoy the full confidence of the Emperor. This Jesuit, who had undoubtedly very keen perceptions, though personally of very dubious character, had gained a clearer impression on passing through New York in October 1865 than the other agents who had lived there for a long time, and had come to the conclusion that a war between

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[19] The Emperor Maximilian to Bazaine, January 23, 1866; draft in V. N. A.
[20] Count Ollivier Rességuier to the Emperor Maximilian, January 8, 1866. V. N. A.

Mexico and the United States was hardly to be avoided.[21] Yet in spite of his high opinion of Father Fischer, the Emperor Max lent a more willing ear to the favourable news which reached him from Washington.

On arriving in Rome the Jesuit was at once received in audience by the Pope.[22] His Holiness expressed his conviction that the Emperor meant well, and that the necessity for reforms undoubtedly existed, but that those of an ecclesiastical nature ought to come from the Holy See and not from the Emperor. With regard to the commission, the Pope affected regret at being bound to say that nothing was to be hoped for on the principles laid down by them.

Father Fischer next entered into negotiations with Cardinals Antonelli and Franchi. His interminable reports give a detailed and highly coloured account of the situation. He knew how to season them with gossip and anecdotes and display himself and his activities to advantage, though his position in Rome was really a very false one. He was naturally received with distrust by the official Mexican commission, and, on account of his stormy past, those in the Pope's entourage were also far from trusting him as much as he would have had the Emperor believe. But the Emperor allowed himself to be entirely taken in by the priest's clever style. "Every line," wrote Maximilian in thanking him for a long letter of January 26, 1866, "was of the greatest interest to me and truly informing, for your words reveal a marvellous intellectual vigour and knowledge of affairs."[23]

The Emperor assured him that he read with pleasure his "brilliant characterization" of Roman affairs; the commission previously sent had been so composed as to prepare the way excellently for "a worker of such capacity and such an enlightened mind."

Maximilian was then staying for his health at Cuernavaca,

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[21] Father Fischer to the Emperor Maximilian, New York, October 18, 1865. V. N. A.

[22] The same to the same, Rome, November 28, 1865. V. N. A.

[23] The Emperor Maximilian to Father Fischer, Chapultepec, March 8, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

that lovely spot which he described as surpassing in beauty almost all he had seen upon earth. "Picture to yourself," he wrote in describing the spot to his old friend the Baroness Binzer,[24] "a broad level valley, blessed by Heaven, stretching out before one like a golden bowl, surrounded by a variety of mountain-ranges rising one beyond the other in the boldest outlines and bathed in the most glorious shades, ranging from the purest rose-red, purple, and violet to the deepest azure, some jagged and confused, piled crag upon crag, like the legendary coasts of Sicily, others soaring upwards and thickly wooded like the green mountains of Switzerland; beyond them the enormous volcanoes with their snow-clad crests towering up like giants towards the deep-blue heavens. Imagine this golden bowl filled at all seasons — or rather all the year round, for there are no seasons here — with a wealth of tropical vegetation, with its intoxicating fragrance and sweet fruits, and, added to all this, a climate as lovely as the Italian May, and handsome, friendly, loyal natives.

"In this happy valley, a few hours from the capital, we dwell in the midst of a luxuriant garden in a pleasant, unpretending *quinta*.[25]

"The old-fashioned garden is dotted with splendid arbours of dark foliage, covered with ever-blooming tea-roses. Innumerable fountains diffuse their freshness beneath the shady canopies of secular orange- and mango-trees. On the terrace running the length of our rooms, and shaded by a veranda, hang our fine hammocks, and we lull ourselves in sweet dreams to the song of gaily coloured birds. Here at Cuernavaca, for the first time, we lead a real tropical life; I cannot indeed enjoy it for long, for in a few days business calls me back to the capital once more."

The Emperor had taken up his residence at Cuernavaca with his wife, little Iturbide, and the child's aunt. He had no sooner left the bustle of the capital than he was happy and cheerful and gave himself up to enjoying the beauties of

[24] The Emperor Maximilian to the Baroness Binzer, February 3, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

[25] Country-house.

nature. His love of plant and animal life was quite touching. For hours on end he would watch the humming-birds which had built their tiny nests beneath his window, and when it was proposed to remove them, he forbade it.

Maximilian felt it necessary to show old Europe that he regretted nothing, and that conditions in the new continent were not to be compared with the backward condition of the old.

"I can truly say," he once wrote to Count Hadik,[26] "that I have chosen the better part, and I would not for anything in the world give up my position and return to the old life. I am struggling with difficulties and obstacles, but fighting is my element, and the life of Mexico is worth a struggle. On this continent one at least reaps a harvest from one's work which I never knew in Europe — gratitude. One finds something which I sought in vain in my earlier life — recognition. Moreover, life on this continent is much pleasanter, it is free and untrammelled. One does not find here all the old stuff and rubbish of a weak and senile Europe; here every man is the artisan of his own fortunes; he who works enjoys, he who does not work goes under. Both the country and the people are far better than their reputation, and you would be surprised to see how the Empress and I have become regular Mexicans, and live at ease among this people. I find it quite natural that the European newspapers cannot understand it, for they have no standard to judge by; we children of the New World care not a rap about them; we cry '*adelante*' (onward!) and cast a backward glance at old, narrow-minded, outworn Europe. But Europeans cannot bear things to be better, stronger, and pleasanter on our continent than upon the old one; hence their envy and ill will. If you were to see your old friend the emigrant, my good Hadik, you would laugh: your Archduke, stronger and more able-bodied than before, with a beard flowing down over his chest, a moustache that would arouse the envy of any Hungarian, a bald spot, too, I admit, which is already almost of Hadikian proportions. Working from ten to

[26] The Emperor Maximilian to Count Hadik, Cuernavaca, February 3, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

twelve hours a day, now at the Ministerial Council, now at the Council of State, now at army organization, now at ecclesiastical meetings, taking the chair in the most flowing and elegant Spanish, occupied for the rest of the time with audiences, or rushing off on wild horses like a regular *ranchero;* the mistress of the house fresh, gay, faithful, and loyal, sharing all her husband's toils and dangers, travelling indefatigably through vast stretches of country; Schaffer, speaking hardly anything but Spanish, with a great sombrero on his head, and soon to be a father, for he is married to a delicious sixteen-year-old Mexican, as pretty as a picture, is the prefect in charge of the palace and park at Chapultepec and has made a reputation as a bold and brilliant rider; Günner is the lion of the capital and is looking for a golden bride in the richest and most elegant circles. Old Kuhacs, as round as a ball, excites the amazement of the natives as they see him rushing to and fro in national costume on his fiery steed nearly every day along the boulevards between Chapultepec and the Palacio Nacional, with important documents; the latter's better half has become a regular out-and-out creole, twice as stout as she used to be, blooming and overflowing with health and well-being; she does nothing but swing in a hammock beneath the cool shade of the orange-trees, waving mute orders with her fan to the numerous household; Ursula, big Ursula, the former *mandriera* [shepherdess] *par excellence,* even she has entirely changed, and is now issuing orders with rare energy in an enormous crinoline, to a little group of deferential Indians of both sexes; and everybody is cheerful and good-tempered, and, what is more, one lives as one would never otherwise have lived."

This description was ominously different from those given by the persons mentioned in it. Frau Kuhacsevich in particular, as we have seen, saw life in quite a different way from the account of her given by the Emperor. Those who received such descriptions as Maximilian gave of life at the imperial court must have obtained the impression that everything was going on so peacefully and smoothly that nothing better or quieter could have been imagined.

Such was the Emperor's state of mind at Cuernavaca, with

its glorious situation, where he was once more full of the highest hopes, and by no means in the mood for that extreme severity which was always being demanded of him, and to which he seemed at last to have yielded when he issued the decree of October 3. In this hopeful mood he had begun to resist with all his might the "energy" preached to him by Napoleon and the French residents in Mexico. For "energy" meant "hanging," and this was so little in keeping with Maximilian's character and gentle disposition that he tried to oppose the ruthless execution of the decree. But the French officers in his entourage, schooled in Napoleon's spirit by Bazaine's headquarters, kept urging "energy" upon the Emperor. Pierron, a French staff captain, was a clever and high-minded man, full of real sympathy for Maximilian, who in the absence of Loysel had become head of the military secretariate which had replaced the military cabinet, but he now developed an original method of his own. He thought he was doing right in recommending severity. Maximilian admitted the necessity of being severe, but he weighed the advantages of the idea previously put forward by Pierron, of deporting undesirable elements, in order to "find a substitute for the dread death-penalty."[27] Pierron appealed to the teaching of history. He looked for historical analogies to Maximilian's position and found them in that of Joseph Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon I, when King of Spain. In that case too there had been an attempt to force a king of foreign nationality, who had no support in the country and could only be upheld by French bayonets, upon a people with a deep sense of nationality and liberty and impatient of all foreign domination.

Napoleon I had recommended "energy" to King Joseph; only he had not elected to use this euphemistic expression discovered by his comparatively insignificant nephew, Napoleon III, but had recommended outright hanging, shooting, and the galleys.

Pierron now picked out some passages from Napoleon I's most peremptory letters,[28] and submitted them to the Emperor

[27] The Emperor Maximilian to Pierron, March 14, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

[28] Pierron evidently took them from Thiers: *Histoire du consulat et de l'empire*

under the title of *Extracts to be read by His Majesty the Emperor Maximilian,* with the motto: "Names change and places change, but the human heart remains the same."

In it Maximilian read the following extracts from a letter of Napoleon I to King Joseph from Valladolid, dated January 12, 1809:

"The enterprise undertaken by Belliard [29] is excellent. Some twenty of the worst characters in Madrid must be hanged. Tomorrow I shall have seven persons hanged here who are conspicuous for their outrages of every sort, and whose presence would be an offence to the respectable persons who have secretly denounced them, and gain fresh courage when they see themselves rid of them. If we do not free Madrid of some hundred of these agitators, we shall have done nothing. Of this hundred, hang or shoot twelve or fifteen, and send the rest to the hulks in France. I had no peace in France, and did not restore confidence to respectable people (*gens de bien*), till I had two hundred agitators and September murderers arrested and sent to the colonies. After this, opinion in the capital changed as at the sound of a whistle."

In a second letter, written four days later, Maximilian could read:

"The court of the alcalde in Madrid has let off some thirty of the rogues arrested by Belliard, or sentenced them to no heavier penalty than imprisonment; a military commission must be appointed to try them again and have the guilty ones shot. Give orders at once for the members of the Inquisition and the Council of Castille, who are in prison at Porcelaine, to be brought to Bayonne, as well as the hundred rogues arrested by Belliard.

(1849), vol. ix, p. 542, where the very passages quoted by him are printed. Napoleon III very wisely did not include these letters in the edition which he caused to be prepared of the *Correspondance de Napoléon I,* which includes 22,000 out of the 31,000 or so existing letters. But they are printed in full in Léon Lecestre: *Lettres inédites de Napoléon I* (Paris, Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1897), a work which fills up with irreproachable scholarship the gaps left, whether purposely or not, in the above work. See also Baron La Caze: *Mémoires et correspondances du roi Joseph,* 10 vols. (Paris, 1853–5).

[29] Augustin Daniel, Comte de Belliard, a French general, at the time Governor of Madrid.

"Five-sixths of Madrid are good; but respectable people must be encouraged, and that can only happen if they are protected against the riff-raff.

"You have done your best here to obtain pardon for the bandits arrested. I refused; I had them hanged and have since learnt that at the bottom of their hearts people were glad that I did not listen to them. I think it necessary for your Government to show more firmness towards the mob, especially at first. The mob love and value only those whom they fear; and nothing but this fear on their part can bring you the love and esteem of the whole nation." [30]

Pierron carried this analogy still further, as a warning to the Emperor. He tried to show by his selections from the letters that King Joseph, with his mild and conciliatory spirit, had been unwilling to follow his brother's advice, and had reproached him with ignorance of the country, which alone could have led him to such false and over-severe counsels. But it was because the King did not adopt his brother's proposals that he had had to leave the country. And so Maximilian was to be taught that Joseph had come to grief because he had not displayed enough "energy."

King Joseph had written to his wife on August 21, 1810:[31]

"My dear, I have received your letter of the 28th. Monsieur d'Almenara will arrive before this letter, and inform you how my affairs stand. They are as bad as can be. The evil arises on the one side from the insurgents, on the other from France; for the Emperor is so ill-informed about this country that he adopts the wrong measures, and all just in order not to listen to what I tell him. He prefers to follow men who see things wrongly, or have different interests from his and mine. These are, I think, the same, if they consist in the prompt pacification of Spain, the only means of restoring this country to its natural sentiments and putting an end to a strife which redounds to the advantage of the enemies of both nations.

"If those terms are granted to Spain which have been prom-

[30] Pierron added a marginal note: "This is word for word what is going on in Mexico. If courts-martial have been set up, it is reasonable to allow them to do their work.

[31] King Joseph Bonaparte to Queen Julie, Madrid, August 21, 1810.

ised to me, if I am given full power over the army, and due confidence is placed in me, Spain will be pacified and friendly to France within the year. But if the system started in February is persisted in, Spain will soon be like a glowing blast-furnace, out of which nobody will come off with any honour. They do not know this nation, for it is like a lion; with rational treatment it can be led by a silken thread, but not even a million soldiers can crush it by military force. Every man is a soldier here if one attempts military rule; everyone will be a friend if one talks about the independence of Spain, national liberty, their Constitution, and their Cortes. This is the truth; now let them choose!

"Time will justify my words. Keep this letter, it is prophetic. As regards myself, I should be glad to remain King of Spain if I could give the nation happiness and discharge my responsibilities towards France by making a good and useful friend of Spain; but I can do so only if the Emperor has confidence in me; if he has not, if they insist upon setting up a military government, I am not the right man for it. I cannot look on at the flogging of Frenchmen and Spaniards. I shroud myself in my cloak, and nothing is left me but to retire. *Nobody will achieve anything by severity, and I less than anybody.* . . . It is a misfortune that he [Napoleon I] could not really carry out his journey through Spain. He would have judged for himself, and our destiny and that of Spain would have been decided. Meanwhile, what blindness not to be ready to believe in me! Who is more interested in the pacification of Spain than I? Who knows her better?"

The analogy was really startling. Joseph's ideas corresponded strikingly with those which Maximilian had repeatedly uttered. Pierron intended to show, in conclusion, what King Joseph's system had ultimately led to, and quoted the following words from his letter of August 24, 1811 to Marshal Berthier: "The Emperor must know the truth; I do not know how I shall be able to pay for even the board of my household in a week's time. With no money, no troops, no authority, how can public opinion keep me there much longer?"

These last sentences startlingly recalled the words used by the Emperor Maximilian in his letter to Napoleon III on

December 27, 1865.[32] And what had the consequences really been in Spain? In 1812, after the battle of Vittoria, King Joseph had finally to leave the country. These letters were intended to show that this result was to be ascribed merely to Joseph's weakness, to serve as a reminder to Maximilian that nothing but force, pitiless severity, and energy could help him, and that otherwise he was threatened with a not very honourable issue — the very one that Maximilian most feared.

By such delicate means the Emperor Maximilian was to be induced to force peace and order upon the country by pitiless severity and draconian penalties at the eleventh hour, thus supplying a better pretext for the withdrawal of the French, and preventing the world from alleging that by their retirement they had merely yielded to the growing strength of Juarez and the United States.

Meanwhile the United States began to urge France more and more overtly and threateningly to give up the Mexican enterprise. It was in vain that in October 1865 Drouyn de Lhuys charged the minister in Washington to purchase the recognition of the Emperor Maximilian by the promise that the French troops in Mexico should be withdrawn the moment it was granted. It was only too well known in Washington that the United States was in a position to force an unconditional withdrawal of the troops by armed intervention in Mexico. Besides, the growing tension between the European powers, which became more acute at the beginning of 1866, provided Seward with an opportunity for energetic action against them, just as the War of Secession had enabled Napoleon to assume an arrogant tone towards the United States with impunity. The position was now reversed. The Empress Eugénie occasionally found the diplomatic notes of the United States positively discourteous,[33] especially on one occasion, when letters of Gwyn had been intercepted, with the result that representations were made in Paris about the province of Sonora.

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[32] See Vol. II, p. 556.

[33] The Empress Eugénie to the Empress Charlotte, September 28, 1865; original in V. N. A.

At the end of December Seward unambiguously demanded the withdrawal of the French troops, without giving any sort of reciprocal pledges. But to avoid swallowing such a humiliation, the French Government behaved as if the United States had pledged itself, if not to recognize Maximilian, at any rate to a sort of neutrality. As a matter of fact, nothing of the sort had been promised. Napoleon could have no further doubts. It was perfectly obvious to him what a catastrophe might ensue for his troops in the event of a collision between them and the victorious army of the United States, which was clearly unavoidable if they remained in Mexico.

The pressure of public opinion in France added to his alarm. There had never been any enthusiasm for Mexico, and Metternich reported that people in Paris were saying it was a "bad business (*une mauvaise affaire*)," which was costing them money and men, and bringing in nothing. They dreaded a war with the United States, by which nobody would profit but France's rival, England. Even the few ministers previously in favour of Mexico had begun to waver and beseech the Emperor to wind up the affair. A storm was gathering in the Chamber, and it was only with difficulty that Drouyn de Lhuys concealed his fear of the United States, while Fould, the Minister of Finance, declared that on no account would he make any fresh financial sacrifices. The Minister of the Interior, the Marquis de Lavalette, who was "the man of the moment" in Paris, maintained to the Empress that the withdrawal of the troops from Mexico, which he had already recommended in the previous year, was now a necessity. Hidalgo's position at court was shaken, and the Mexican could no longer manage to lay any of his friends' letters before the Emperor and Empress, which had been one of the most important factors in misleading them.

All parties were now of the same opinion. The liberals said that there ought never to have been any intervention in Mexico, the legitimists and Catholics of the type of Gutierrez were hostile to Maximilian's liberal reforms, the Orleanists exulted over the embarrassments of this scion of the Bonapartes, and the army was discontented, for it regarded the Mexican

expedition as an inglorious one. In addition to this, threatening war-clouds began to gather over Europe. Metternich obtained the impression that the anti-Mexican party had made considerable progress in the Emperor Napoleon's good graces; it had not yet triumphed, but danger was ahead.[34] The Prince was mistaken: it was already triumphing. Napoleon's anxiety became so extreme that he resolved to put an end to it. On January 15 he sent the Emperor Maximilian the following recantation:

"Paris, January 15, 1866

"Sir, my brother,

"It is not without pain that I write to Your Majesty, for I am forced to inform you of the decision at which I have been bound to arrive in view of all the difficulties caused me by the Mexican question. The impossibility of obtaining fresh subsidies from the Corps Législatif for the upkeep of the army in Mexico, and the statement of Your Majesty that you are not in a position to contribute towards it yourself, force me to set a definitive term to the French occupation.

"In my opinion, this must be as soon as possible. Meanwhile I am sending you Baron Saillard, to ascertain Marshal Bazaine's views and then come to an understanding with Your Majesty, in order to fix the term for the gradual withdrawal of my troops, in such a way that it may not happen suddenly (*brusquement*), that public order may not be disturbed, nor the interests of which we have the protection at heart imperilled. Moreover, the agreement still holds good that the Foreign Legion shall still remain in Your Majesty's service for a few years. If, as I do not doubt, you display the requisite energy in these difficult circumstances, if you give a stable organization to your national and foreign army, if, by effecting all possible economies, you find means of developing the resources of your Empire, I believe that your throne will be consolidated, for though the departure of our troops may prove a momentary cause of weakness, it will have the advantage of removing all pretext for intervention on the part of the United States.

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[34] Confidential report of Prince Metternich to Count Mensdorff, Paris, January 15, 1866. V. N. A.

"I have had word sent to Marshal Bazaine and M. Langlais to assist Your Majesty with their counsels and support. Moreover, I do not believe — and I repeat this — that Your Majesty's power can be shattered by a measure which is imposed upon me by the force of circumstances. I beg Your Majesty to express to the Empress my condolences upon the death of her father, the King. I renew my assurances of the sentiment of esteem and sincere friendship with which I am

"Your Majesty's good brother,

"Napoleon." [35]

At the same time the Emperor wrote to Bazaine in the same sense, mentioning the beginning of the year 1867 as the extreme limit of time for the troops to leave the country. Randon, the Minister for War, wrote to the marshal, adding that the embarkation of the troops must start next winter if possible, or as early as the autumn of 1866.[36]

In order to burn his boats, the Emperor repeated the main tenor of his letter to Maximilian a week later, in the speech from the throne which he delivered at the opening of the Chamber. It was now known that the decision had been arrived at to withdraw from Mexico, and pressure began to be brought to bear for it to happen quite soon. In a secret letter to Bazaine [37] Napoleon supplemented his instructions to the marshal by enjoining on him to accomplish "something lasting" in Mexico, so that all the trouble and expense might not have been wasted. He had a year or eighteen months to do it in. Napoleon once again laid stress upon his intense desire that Maximilian should hold his own in Mexico, but his doubts were already visible from the instructions which he gave in the event of the election of a president of the Republic of Mexico becoming necessary.

Napoleon's fateful letter of January 15 crashed into the midst of the idyll of Cuernavaca, where Maximilian had taken refuge for a short time, and swept away at one blow all his

[35] The Emperor Napoleon III to the Emperor Maximilian, Paris, January 15, 1866; original in V. N. A.

[36] Gaulot, op. cit., II. 232, 233.

[37] Ibid., II. 237.

rosy prospects for the future. Baron Saillard handed it to him in accordance with instructions. It was a heavy blow to the Emperor Maximilian and a wound to his pride. He had confidently reckoned that his last frank and trustful letter would not fail of its effect upon Napoleon. He had no clear conception of the pressure to which Napoleon was exposed. After much wavering he resolved to send his trusty Eloin to Paris with his reply, to try once more to change the Emperor's mind. He also charged him to explain the episode of Colonel Dupin to the Emperor, so as to forestall Bazaine's possible complaints. The former head of the military cabinet, Lieutenant-Colonel Loysel, was also sent to Paris, to acquaint himself with the state of opinion there, and in particular to find out whether Hidalgo had not contributed to the sudden change in Napoleon's views; he was also to ask for French under-secretaries of State for the Ministries of Justice, Commerce, and Public Instruction. The Emperor even said that he had been brought to Mexico with his eyes blindfolded.[38] In Paris, before his departure, he had been led to suppose that the military pacification of the country had been completed, and that the loans could be used for the reconstruction and improvement of the country. In fact, Napoleon had represented everything to him in a rosy light.

But what did he find in reality? Only a tenth of the country pacified, enemy troops only two hours from the capital, the treasury empty, no organized national army; and now they were trying to hold him responsible for all that had been going on long before he set foot on Mexican soil.

In the letter[39] which Eloin was to hand to Napoleon III, Maximilian alluded bitterly, and in a tone of wounded pride, to the fact that Napoleon found himself compelled by sudden pressure to disregard the solemn conventions concluded hardly two years before. He protested that he was far from desiring to cause any danger to the Emperor of the French or his dy-

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[38] Baron de Buffin, op. cit., p. 157. Notes of the Emperor Maximilian found among Eloin's papers.

[39] The Emperor Maximilian to Napoleon III, Cuernavaca, February 18, 1866; copy in V. N. A., printed by Ollivier, op. cit., VII. 556.

nasty. He even proposed that Napoleon should withdraw his troops immediately, and he would attempt to come to terms with the Mexicans in a manner compatible with the dignity of a Habsburg, by dedicating himself body and soul to his new country.

When Eloin arrived in Paris, he handed Prince Metternich this letter, couched in dignified terms, but showing how deeply Maximilian was wounded, and asked him to communicate it to Napoleon. Eloin was at once summoned to the Tuileries. He found the Emperor, who had aged greatly, and seemed in a morbid state of nervousness, confused and visibly embarrassed. When he had asked after the Emperor of Mexico's health, Napoleon said: [40]

"I have just received an answer from the Emperor; it is obvious that he is annoyed (*irrité*). I am not offended at this. I understand the impression that reading my letter must have made upon him. But what can be done? There are circumstances in which one cannot do all one wants, it would have been impossible for me to ask the Chamber for a fresh credit, and the Emperor himself has written to me that he was not in a position to meet his financial obligations. I have therefore precipitated a solution under compulsion, but, you understand — we shall soon understand each other — the chief thing is to set men's minds at rest, and soften the impression both in the United States and the Chambers. It will suffice to announce a series of dates for the sailing of transports, at longer or shorter intervals."

The Emperor explained that orders to this effect had been sent to the marshal; officers, non-commissioned officers, or men who desired to remain in Mexico would be given leave to do so, and as soon as an agreement had been arrived at as to the guarantees to be given to the French Government, he would personally interest himself in negotiating a loan sufficient to provide against all emergencies.

"Since you have been in Europe," continued the Emperor, "you will be able to give an account of the state of public opinion! All the reports which we receive from out there concur

[40] Report of Eloin to the Emperor Maximilian, March 30, 1866. V. N. A.

in the opinion that the Emperor Maximilian is lacking in energy; he confines himself to drawing up and promulgating decrees, without realizing that they often cannot be carried into effect. It is alleged that, urged by his eagerness to achieve something, he loses himself in Utopian schemes, so that the practical side suffers."

Eloin endeavoured to correct these ideas of Napoleon's, which were in his opinion erroneous. Quite apart from the fact that there was much truth in them, he forgot that the Emperor was bound to use such language in order to cover his retreat, which had now become necessary, and also his breach of faith, in such a way as to throw most of the responsibility for all that had occurred upon Maximilian.

"Your Majesty knows," said Eloin, "that the relations between the Emperor and the marshal are very strained, and are growing more difficult every day. I have no instructions from my sovereign to inform Your Majesty of this, but in saying it I believe I am fulfilling a duty and being of use to all parties. The marshal has never been able to forget that he was there before the Emperor, and then had the sole command, and the Dupin affair has recently made the situation peculiarly complicated."

Eloin next described this incident and gave Napoleon Bazaine's letters about it to read; the Emperor returned them to Eloin with a frown and at once dismissed the Belgian without ceremony, without his habitual smile, and without giving him his hand. Meanwhile the Empress had come in, in outdoor costume; she inquired perfunctorily after the health of Their Mexican Majesties, expressed her grief at the death of King Leopold, and at once walked up to her consort and begged him to profit by the brilliant sunshine to take a little walk. Eloin understood that the Empress did not wish to prolong the interview, and took his leave.

On visiting the ministers, Drouyn de Lhuys, Fould, Germiny, etc., Eloin found them all inclined to leave Mexico in the lurch rather than risk a disturbance of the public peace in France, in view of the highly excited state of feeling in the country. Nor would they any longer hear of the projected

Mexican bank of issue. Loysel, the second emissary, supplemented the dismal reports from Paris. In all essential points his account of the duress under which the Emperor and Empress found themselves was similar to Eloin's, though Loysel's took a different form from that of the Belgian Eloin, owing to the fact that he was a Frenchman. He only observed that one passage in a letter from the Empress Charlotte to the Empress Eugénie [41] — namely, that the money was after all there to be spent — had made a bad impression upon Their French Majesties, since they concluded from it that there was a certain lack of control. But, in any case, they were seriously embarrassed about Mexico, and Maximilian must refrain from recriminations.

Feeling in Paris was primarily to be attributed to the fact that France desired at all costs to avoid war with America. Dark rumours of preparations for war in Prussia were already coming from across the Rhine, and twelve deputies in the Chamber, among them Jules Favre and Pelletan, were insisting that they had foretold from the very beginning what embarrassments and sacrifices the Mexican enterprise would impose upon France. The return of the troops had been solemnly announced in the previous year; they deplored the great delays to which it had been subject, and the fact that the French army was still occupied in bolstering up a foreign throne. Hardly a voice was raised in feeble opposition to such expressions of opinion.

Eloin and Loysel worked together hand in hand in Paris; there was only one matter of which the French officer was not in the secret. In view of the imminent withdrawal of the French, the Belgian had discussed with Maximilian looking for other foreign soldiers. A similar attempt had already been made before, when in November 1865 the Viceroy of Egypt had offered the French Government a negro regiment, immune from malaria, for Mexico. The Belgian met with a

[41] The whole of the correspondence of the two Empresses is at my disposal, but this one letter is missing, which the Empress Charlotte sent by Madame Almonte on her visit to Paris, and in which she replied to the reproaches of the Emperor of the French in his letter of November 30, 1865, on the subject of the financial administration.

severe disappointment when his new King, the Empress Charlotte's brother, who was then staying at Claremont, the English country-house which he had lately inherited from his father, intimated that he did not want to see him.[42] This was most significant. So long as Leopold I lived, he had done all he possibly could to support his children; but the wind was now in another quarter. In Belgium, too, the Chambers were dissatisfied at the part played by Belgian troops in the fighting in Mexico, and would not hear of further sacrifices of men and money; and this was aggravated by the pessimistic reports of Belgian residents in the country. Here, too, the King bowed to the public opinion of his country, so that henceforward nothing more was to be hoped for in this direction.

Eloin therefore returned from Brussels to Paris empty-handed. His judgment upon Hidalgo, the Mexican Minister in Paris, was quite unequivocal. Loysel, too, considered that if the whole of the press was hostile, there must obviously have been negligence on the part of the Legation in exerting influence upon the newspapers. Eloin said outright that Hidalgo's position in Paris was compromised.

Maximilian stood in no need of this information. He had long regarded Hidalgo with distrust, for he appeared to care for nothing but to remain a favourite at the imperial court of France, and to do so was ready to sacrifice the interests of Maximilian and his home-land. For if, as his duty as minister demanded, he had espoused their cause vigorously, he would have been in danger of falling into opposition to Napoleon and Eugénie, as the Emperor Maximilian had himself done. Yet in spite of all, his prestige and influence in Paris suffered; for the more determined they became to leave Mexico in the lurch, the more Napoleon, and above all the Empress, began to avoid the Mexicans who had originally talked them into the enterprise.

As we have mentioned, the Emperor Maximilian had already made up his mind to summon Hidalgo to Mexico, in order to ask him for an explanation, though he did not as yet

[42] Eloin to the Emperor Maximilian, Paris, April 13, 1866. V. N. A.

contemplate his removal. He had even intended to entrust him with a highly delicate and secret mission to the Empress Eugénie.

The minister hesitated a long while to undertake the journey, but at last he had to make up his mind to it. He arrived in Mexico trembling with fright, and cut an almost comical figure. On one occasion, when the Emperor invited him to take a little ride in the neighbourhood, he appeared armed to the teeth, and was quite upset because they were to be attended only by one groom. Maximilian laughed at him, and took advantage of this incident to send word to Herzfeld in Vienna that these exhibitions of fright were obviously to be ascribed to the accounts of Mexican conditions in the European press. Maximilian was particularly displeased at the attitude of the *Triester Zeitung,* the *Neue Freie Presse,* and the *Kölnische Zeitung,* and sent instructions to Herzfeld to give his views as to how this " unseemly behaviour," this " tissue not only of the silliest, but also of the most infamous lies " might be put an end to by subsidies and other such expenditure, or else by legal proceedings.[43]

The Emperor also wished to win over *The Times,* and charged Duran, the Mexican Minister in London, who had been appointed after the retirement of Arrangoiz, to take all necessary steps to do so. " For," he wrote,[44] " there is nothing more important to win in England than *The Times,* cost what it may, for, though it seems almost absurd to say so, it is none the less a political fact that whoever can rely on this paper can also rely on public opinion in England. Every true son of John Bull reads *The Times* regularly at breakfast every morning, adopts the views of this paper, and imagines himself to be a great statesman for the rest of the day."

Maximilian had in view the organization on a large scale of a " Mexican press bureau for Europe." Paris was to be the centre for the western countries, Vienna for those of the German lands. The two mainsprings of their activity were to be

[43] The Emperor Maximilian to Herzfeld, Cuernavaca, February 4, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

[44] The Emperor Maximilian to Duran, Cuernavaca, March 16, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

money and the conferring of orders. All *démentis* were to be in keeping with the modern democratic spirit of the government of Mexico. By this means they aimed at checking the "unseemliness" of the press in Europe, and even in Austria, which in Maximilian's opinion was worse than that of the United States.[45] By these instructions to Herzfeld, Maximilian aimed at having Mexican conditions represented in the European press as less dangerous than they really were. For Hidalgo's fears were not altogether groundless; the insecurity of the country was really very great. This was soon to receive a striking illustration, when the Belgian deputation which came to announce the accession of Leopold II was attacked on its way back from Mexico City, sixteen miles from the capital, in the woods of Rio Frio near Puebla, and Baron Huart, a young Belgian officer, who was chief aide-de-camp to the Count of Flanders and a particular favourite of his, was killed and several others wounded. On hearing the news Maximilian at once hurried to Rio Frio in person, with his own physician, in order to supervise matters and bring succour to the wounded. But it was impossible to efface the impression of this event in Europe.

Maximilian received the worst possible impression of Hidalgo during his stay in Mexico. The reports from Paris, and Napoleon's last severe letter, had shown plainly enough that Hidalgo had either failed to grasp the situation, or, as appeared more probable, purposely neglected to give his Government accurate information,[46] and had therefore misled them. The Emperor accordingly determined to remove Hidalgo from his post as minister, since, as he wrote to Napoleon,[47] he was dissatisfied with the minister for not communicating the Emperor's wishes to him clearly enough. He was therefore sending him an old and faithful friend, General Almonte, "the best that Mexico can produce (*tout ce qu'il y a de mieux au Mexique*)."

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[45] The Emperor Maximilian to Herzfeld, February 4, 1866; draft in V. N. A.
[46] The Emperor Maximilian to Barandiaran, March 15, 1866; likewise to Gutierrez of the same day. V. N. A.
[47] The Emperor Maximilian to Napoleon III, April 3, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

In order to make the bitter pill more palatable to Hidalgo, Maximilian appointed him Counsellor of State and intended after some time to give him a less important diplomatic post. Hidalgo had scarcely received the decree which signified that he must stay in Mexico when he was seized with panic. Compromised as he was, and convinced that the Empire which he had advocated with such ardent zeal was doomed to destruction now that Napoleon was withdrawing his support from it, he saw ruin staring him in the face. Without a moment's reflection, without taking leave of anybody, he disappeared from Mexico under cover of night and started back to Europe. On arriving in Paris, Hidalgo hurried from Drouyn de Lhuys to Fould, and even to Napoleon, to obtain a written statement of how satisfied everybody had been with him. He then sent these documents to the Empress Charlotte [48] to prove how greatly she and the Emperor had been misled about him, with the assurance that he was deeply wounded. The Mexican did not consider that by so doing he only proved how badly he had served Maximilian and his own country; for when a diplomatist is so very agreeable to a foreign power, it is ten to one that he has not been a good representative of his own country's interest. Hidalgo subsequently lived in Paris as a private individual with a grievance. He had played out his ill-starred part, and could now look on unconcernedly from a safe distance at the collapse of the tottering edifice for whose establishment he had been to such a large extent responsible.

The French Minister Dano took a just view of matters in Mexico, and reported home accordingly. The greater part of the country, he said, was in the hands of the insurgents, the State's expenditure far exceeded its revenues, the future was more than gloomy, and in case of need they must at all costs take Maximilian away with the departing troops, for, say what one might, France was responsible for the Emperor's safety.[49]

Bazaine was not so straightforward. On receiving Napoleon's letter he was quite sure that his military mission was

[48] Hidalgo to the Empress Charlotte, Paris, May 30, 1866. V. N. A.

[49] Dano to Drouyn de Lhuys, February 28, 1866; printed by Ollivier, op. cit., VII. 554.

more or less at an end, and that he had nothing left to do save to arrange for the withdrawal of his troops. Whatever happened now could be attributed to the order for evacuation, or laid to the charge of the Mexican troops, who were to take over the service. In his answer to Napoleon [50] the marshal represented the situation as being " as favourable as possible," if only the United States remained neutral, and described the forces left to the Emperor Maximilian after the withdrawal of the French as " amply sufficient for the consolidation of the Empire." He next gave Saillard a letter to take with him, in which he recommended Napoleon to act quietly, even without concerting his measures with Maximilian's court, " whose ill will, arising out of unjustifiable complaints, is not far removed from ingratitude." Bazaine had indeed heard that the Mexican Emperor and Empress were now working almost openly in Paris for his removal; so he too laid aside all restraint. He proposed to Napoleon that the troops should sail in three detachments, the first in November 1866, the second in March 1867, and the third in December 1867. What he wanted was to depart with the first detachment, simultaneously handing over the command to Douay. This would be quite satisfactory, he reported, for " as regards military conditions, the land was as much pacified as it ever had been."

This was an out and out lie, for the north, west, and south of the country contained strong bodies of Juarista troops; vast territories had not yet submitted to the Emperor, or were no longer in submission to him; and even the regions close to the capital were no longer safe. But Bazaine wanted to conceal this, for he was still responsible for the situation. In future his rival Douay, and afterwards Maximilian, must answer for all that might happen. The more favourable the description he gave of the present state of affairs, the more obvious would the incapacity of his successors be bound to appear. Thus Bazaine contemplated carrying out his imperial master's orders, when the time should come, regardless of the consequences which they were bound to have for the country.

[50] Bazaine to Napoleon III, February 26, 1866; printed by Ollivier, op. cit., VII. 555; and March 1, 1866, ibid., VII. 557.

When Baron Saillard handed him Napoleon's notice of withdrawal, Maximilian treated him with great coldness and granted him the briefest possible audience. He avoided any detailed negotiations or close contact with the Frenchman, and did not even present him to the Empress. The result was that Saillard returned to Paris with a sense of injury, to swell the numbers of those hostile to Maximilian. Count Bombelles had returned from Europe to Mexico at the same time as Saillard. He had been sent home [51] to try to clear up the business of the Family Pact, to set the minds of Maximilian's parents, relatives, and friends at rest — for they were already most anxious — and to assure them once more that he and his wife were very contented in the New World and would not on any account fail in their sacred duties. As Bombelles had already written, he accomplished very little, and brought back with him only a somewhat less agitated letter from the Emperor's mother, the Archduchess Sophie. Maximilian had availed himself of this opportunity of asking Francis Joseph to hand over to him those objects in the imperial collections which had once belonged to the Aztec Emperor Montezuma. The Emperor Francis Joseph declined to give up a manuscript in the Imperial Library written in Aztec hieroglyphs,[52] but he allowed Montezuma's shield and the original manuscript of a report from Cortés to Charles V on the conquest of Mexico to be handed over to Bombelles.

The Emperor Maximilian thanked his brother cordially for presenting him with these precious objects, which were of especial value to Mexico. He showed, moreover, in his letter that he had no idea of the dangers which were arising for Austria at the beginning of 1866, and was still trying to deceive his brother as to the true state of affairs in Mexico. "I follow with real joy and emotion," he wrote,[53] "the happy developments at home, and congratulate you out of the fullness of my heart upon having broken down the overwhelming

[51] The Emperor Maximilian to Velazquez de León, March 10, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

[52] See illustration, p.

[53] The Emperor Maximilian to the Emperor Francis Joseph, Chapultepec, October 25, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

influence of Germany by your patience and wisdom; the fact that you have granted equal rights to all nations seems to me a most happy thought, which God will reward. This political idea was the fundamental principle and the strength of Maria Theresa, the only ruler whose memory is still blessed by the peoples of Austria. Since these changes took place in Austria, I have read all news from home with absolute passion. I was very glad that Charlie [Count Bombelles] could speak to you quite frankly about our conditions here. Our affairs are progressing slowly but well, and what affords me particular comfort is that our native troops are shaping very well and fight with the courage of lions. Relations with our neighbours are also beginning to clear up; much may be accomplished with them by firmness and consistency."

This letter was not straightforward. This is proved by another letter, written only two days before, to the Archduke Karl Ludwig,[54] which refers to the mission of Charlie Bombelles, "who has brought no good news." For Vienna had remained inexorable in the matter of the Family Pact, and Maximilian took this to heart very keenly. "I cannot deny," he wrote to his younger brother, "that I deplore the answer that he has brought; for apart from the fact that I had to go through such bitter experiences on leaving home, I still cling to my own people, and it was therefore my intention, though perhaps a mistaken one, to return good for evil.

"I accept my disappointment as a trial sent by Heaven for my good, and I only hope with my whole heart that a time of disillusionment may not come for others. *I am used to it, for my family have never understood me and are therefore unable to understand my work or my views; they will not do so at any rate till the distant future, when it will perhaps be too late.*"

Moreover, the fine words in which Maximilian had alluded to home affairs in his letter to the Emperor Francis Joseph did not really reflect his inmost thoughts; for the Emperor's judgment on conditions in Austria was not in reality any too

[54] The Emperor Maximilian to the Archduke Karl Ludwig, February 23, 1866. V. N. A.

friendly. Grillparzer had addressed a cordial letter to Maximilian about this time, thanking him for the Mexican order conferred upon him, and praising Maximilian's government highly. This recognition delighted Maximilian, who saw in Grillparzer a commanding intellect far superior to his own, and he wrote to the Baroness Binzer,[55] a friend of his youth, that this praise "would be an incentive to him for the future," and give him "new strength and perseverance." "Grillparzer certainly has no idea," wrote the Emperor, "of the great joy and comfort he has afforded me. The decline of the [other] poets which you mention to me in your interesting letter saddens me; but, alas, everything at home seems to be going more or less downhill, and the few remarkable features which still shine here and there are disappearing and making room for the greatest mediocrity; this was always more or less the case in Austria, and so Austria neither lives nor dies, but drags on through the centuries like a tedious illness, full of boredom and desolation." [56]

Whatever might happen, the attitude of Austria and its Emperor remained consistently passive in all that concerned Mexico. The instructions to the Austrian Minister in Washington, Baron Wydenbruck, laid particular stress upon this role of Austria's and her urgent desire to maintain good relations with the United States. Thus on February 12, 1866, on the occasion of a memorial celebration in honour of the murdered President Lincoln, Bancroft, the former American Minister to London and Secretary of the Navy, delivered an address which was less concerned with Lincoln than with reviewing recent events abroad. In speaking about Mexico, Bancroft alluded to the Emperor as an "Austrian adventurer," and continued for the rest of his speech to call him "the adventurer." Baron Wydenbruck turned hot and cold all over; his first impulse was to spring to his feet and make a pointed and hasty exit, but he remembered his instructions, and the

[55] The Emperor Maximilian to the Baroness Binzer, February 3, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

[56] Friedrich Rückert had also an order conferred on him by Maximilian and acknowledged it by a poem, which is to be found in V. N. A.

"passive role" enjoined upon him, and remained quietly seated, painful though it might be to him. When he afterwards complained to Seward, the latter retorted that he had no right to do so, the Vienna Cabinet had so often stated that it held entirely aloof from Mexican affairs. Seward gave it clearly to be understood that he approved of Bancroft's proceedings, and gave the minister the most discourteous hint that the matter did not concern him; Maximilian must leave Mexico.[57]

Napoleon's announcement that he was evacuating Mexico, far from satisfying Seward, only made the United States much bolder in its demands. They had hitherto only required the recall of the French troops, but it was now requested that the period of time within which this was contemplated should be shortened. Seward repeatedly pointed out that this monarchy, erected upon the ruins of a republic, must be regarded as prejudicial to the republican institutions existing in North America. His representations were backed up by serious pronouncements on the part of the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the press. The attitude of the United States became more and more threatening, and Maximilian was alluded to as a mere lieutenant of Napoleon's, who would have to go if the French troops were withdrawn.

In spite of all, just as Maximilian had counted upon England's support before accepting the crown, so now he still believed in the possibility of a compromise, and was stubbornly resolved to exert all his strength for this purpose.

Napoleon's formal announcement to Maximilian was shortly followed by another from Fould, the Minister of Finance. The French paymaster in Mexico received orders "finally to close" the account of the Mexican Government. This was all the more remarkable since, in response to constant urging from France, the Mexican Government had made convulsive efforts to meet the French demands as far as possible. Langlais received peremptory instructions from Fould to suspend all payments to the Mexican army.[58] Maximilian had had high hopes that Langlais, a most competent and indefatigable worker,

[57] Baron Wydenbruck to Count Mensdorff, February 13, 1866. V. N. A.

[58] See Gaulot, op. cit., II. 270.

would succeed in introducing order into the financial situation. His health appeared to be better, and he had drawn up a comprehensive scheme of reforms, in which provision was made for a considerable increase of revenue and drastic reductions in expenditure. "I shall manage it (*j'en viendrai à bout*)," said Langlais cheerfully. "The time for action has come," he said in a conversation with Pierron,[59] "the Emperor must roll up his shirt-sleeves and put his hand to the plough with the rest of us. If he does as I propose, I guarantee to save him. If not, I give it up."

The Emperor delighted in such language as this, and, in spite of all the hampering instructions from Paris, had serious hopes of a successful solution. He approved all the more of Langlais's plans since the latter was obviously endeavouring to keep Mexico's interests in view. Langlais was well aware that the London and Paris financiers had done great prejudice to the country in the matter of the issue of the Mexican loan and the uses to which it had been applied, and Maximilian bears witness [60] that he once happened to say he knew perfectly well that in France part of both the Mexican loans had been stolen; that only nineteen million pesos (at five francs) of them had been received. The Emperor Maximilian had had a collection of documents brought together which would have made it clear, in a way unpleasant to the French Government, how the funds had disappeared, and who were the persons who were battening on the proceeds of the two loans.[61]

A few hours after Langlais said this, he was suddenly carried off by a heart attack, on February 23, 1866, and so all the hopes bound up with his kindly and able personality came to a sudden end. He did indeed leave behind him a sort of financial and political testament, but the head that should have carried it into execution was lacking, and his place was once more taken by men who saw things exclusively from the French point of

[59] Edouard Pierron to the Emperor Maximilian, Mexico, February 3, 1866. V. N. A.

[60] The Emperor Maximilian to Eloin, May 4, 1866, Palace of Mexico; draft in V. N. A.

[61] The Emperor Maximilian to Loysel in Paris, Mexico, April 4, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

view, and dealt with them accordingly. It was naturally impossible to reduce the finances of Mexico to order by this means, and a doubt may be expressed as to whether even so competent a man as Langlais could have found redress in such a state of affairs.

The Emperor Maximilian was always quickly won over by new advisers who had a pleasant exterior, and placed too much confidence in them, though he as easily withdrew it. Optimists found an easy prey in him, and even if their prophecies were not realized, they were always sure of keeping a place in his heart. Thus he could not entirely break with Gutierrez. He always felt himself under a certain obligation to him, and though Gutierrez had no wish to set foot in Mexico, the Emperor continued to correspond with him.

Early in January 1866 Maximilian again sent him a very optimistic picture of the progress made in the reorganization of justice and the army.[62] A little later he once more expressed his and the Empress's regret that "our good Gutierrez,"[63] "one of our best friends," was separated from them by such a great distance, and was thus not in a position to help them with his advice at difficult moments. "Why do you not make up your mind," wrote the Emperor, "to come with your sons to our sweet and lovely fatherland? . . . The journey is so easy nowadays, in twenty-three days you can reach Mexico from Paris without fatigue. You may be sure that we should welcome you with open arms."

These two letters crossed one from Gutierrez.[64] It was the answer to the letter in which Maximilian had told the Mexican some plain, unvarnished truths. Gutierrez's answer was a high-flown letter of a hundred and twelve pages, in which he explained to the Emperor the many points of capital importance on which he differed from him. He simply could not understand how Maximilian could say that Mexico had never had a monarchy before; the three centuries of government by viceroys had been no more than the rule of despotic pashas, and

[62] The Emperor Maximilian to Gutierrez, January 5, 1866; draft in V. N. A.
[63] The same to the same, January 16, 1866; draft in V. N. A.
[64] Gutierrez to the Emperor Maximilian, January 12, 1866; original in V. N. A.



THE PALACE OF CHAPULTEPEC FROM THE EAST

Spain had governed Mexico only by means of fear, its isolated position, and military force. Gutierrez defended Spain, which had so long held his country in chains, on the ground that she was a Catholic power.

He was indignant at Maximilian's words that Mexico could have no conception of the meaning of monarchy or a dynasty, that there was no Catholic majority, and that the majority were quite indifferent. He referred the Emperor to the Mexican episcopate; he should look to it for advice and assistance, for this body, like the rest of the clergy, was certainly not what the Emperor represented it to be; it had no need of "purification," and stood — as he knew — on the same level as the most distinguished episcopates of Europe. The Mexican expressed the view that there could quite well be political liberty without religious toleration; the toleration of other religions was a declaration of war upon the national creed. He furiously attacked Maximilian's assertion that the Conservative party was only a minority; the other "so-called parties" consisted of nothing but "the advocates of a policy of personal selfishness." It was not only the Conservative and monarchist party which had prepared the Emperor's brilliant reception in Mexico; it was the nation. But the Emperor Maximilian desired to work on his own initiative, alone and according to his own theories, by which means he was cutting himself off from all parties. This was very dangerous. Foreign intervention was indeed a difficult factor, but it was being carried out by the most highly cultivated people in Europe, and it was, moreover, intended that it should be replaced as soon as possible by a national Mexican army. French intervention was to be no more than a secondary resource side by side with the national movement. It was a great pity that there had been such delay in raising the Mexican army.

With regard to the reproach about his long absence, this, he said, did not alter the facts; if the new generation were of a different opinion, this proved nothing but its "inexperienced youth"! Gutierrez insisted that in his letter of April 10, 1865 he had already asked for a change in the guiding lines of policy; if this did not take place, it would involve danger to the throne.

And now the truth of this appeared to be confirmed. Moreover, he knew his country, though he was not in it. Maximilian had remained a stranger in the land, hence the struggle of Mexico and France with the United States. The Mexicans had chosen a prince descended from a Catholic dynasty, who had made a journey to the Holy Land, and went to Rome to obtain the Holy Father's blessing. So they ought not to be disappointed by his attitude.

The letter repeated the same motive over and over again in interminable phrases. Maximilian ought to throw himself into the arms of that section of the Conservatives whose most uncompromising representative was Gutierrez. In this alone lay salvation. Indeed, Gutierrez was so incorrigible that, in spite of all that had happened, he still undertook the defence of Santa Anna, and held him up as a model to the Emperor.

The Emperor, whose liberal cast of mind was opposed to Gutierrez's views, was at first exasperated by the letter. But the apparent lack of success that had so far attended his liberal measures of government, though he would not admit it to anybody, induced him none the less to enter into a detailed, and sometimes acrimonious and sarcastic controversy with the ultramontane Mexican. The result was a letter from the Emperor, also of considerable length,[65] which began by asserting that many of the prophecies expressed in the letters which he had sent off a year before had proved to be most happily grounded in fact, and had failed of complete realization only as a result of the victory of the United States and the sudden change in world policy which was "a dismal fruit of the cowardice of the great powers of Europe."

Maximilian endeavoured to explain that even the most conservative were in accord with his regime of liberty, and was indignant at Gutierrez's contempt for the original Aztec inhabitants of Mexico and their Emperor. Had he entirely forgotten the high level of culture which had been attained before the arrival of the Spanish conquerors? There had been no robbers then, trade and exchange flourished in splendid cities and a rich country-side. "But," Gutierrez might say, "what

[65] The Emperor Maximilian to Gutierrez, March 19, 1866. V. N. A.

about human sacrifices?" In that connexion, however, one was bound to recall the burning of heretics ordered by the Inquisition. Gutierrez had said that the Spaniards had brought Christianity with them. Yes, but only to exploit the country for three centuries on end. The glories of the Escorial bore witness to the money wrung from this country. It had been an iniquitous monarchy, which produced nothing but unrest and revolution, and finally impelled the population to take refuge in a republican form of government not really congenial to it.

Maximilian sharply controverted Gutierrez's assertion that the people of Mexico were not superstitious; this only proved that he had become quite "Europeanized." If he came to Mexico, he would see that a vast number of people venerated the Madonna of Guadalupe as a goddess, who stood higher than God; that idolatry suggestive of utter heathenism existed in the most widespread form; for instance, tickets were bought for solid gold, in virtue of which souls were to be set free from purgatory; and many other things. Maximilian went into the question of toleration, and said that he was of quite a different opinion from Gutierrez, and would always remain so. He referred once more to the two thousand Spanish miles that lay between the Mexican and his home, and the twenty-five years which had gone by since his last visit. He once more expressed a definite hope that Gutierrez would come to Mexico, in order to put his views to the test. The Mexican's remark that there were too few Conservatives in the Cabinet only showed how little he knew Mexico and the Mexicans. The respectable section of them had for long past felt confidence in the Government. Don Antonio Moral, on the other hand, whom Gutierrez had always mentioned as a man of honour, had had to leave the service, for it had become known that he was holding secret communication with the Juaristas. Maximilian agreed with Gutierrez in deploring the fact that the setting up of a Mexican army had been so long delayed. He owed that, he wrote, exclusively to the stubborn opposition of Marshal Bazaine and the French army, but, all the same, it was surprising that Gutierrez, who had laid down the principle of "Jesuits

and Swiss" from the very first, should now suddenly rail against foreign arms.

"I must use a soldierly frankness," wrote Maximilian, "and say that, to this very day, the French marshal has worked day and night, by endless intrigues, by orders and counter-orders, to render a good and final organization of our brave troops impossible. Never forget, my dear friend, that French policy has always aimed at keeping Mexico weak in two respects, and those the most important for the existence of the country; namely, military and financial affairs."

The Emperor stated emphatically that he could produce documentary evidence of this. The foreign situation was undoubtedly critical. This was due merely to the cowardice of "old Europe," a dark page in the history of that continent, which would yet live to see retribution. There could be no getting away from the fact that the great powers of Europe had struck their colours to the young republican colossus. Yet, in spite of all, he did not give up hope. The Austrian consul-general in New York, Loosey, "a man of great ability," had just been in Mexico and brought back promising news. They had now to proceed to regularize their relations with the United States and conclude the concordat. With an entirely false estimate of his strength, the Emperor wrote that he would be able to promote the prosperity and safety of the country, and if this could not be done by peaceful means, "we shall know how to defend our independence as good Mexicans, ready to make every sacrifice for our beloved country." As to Santa Anna, would Gutierrez be so good as never to speak of him again? He was a traitor, a charlatan, a "political puppet." In any case the French had done absolutely nothing in the military sphere since the victory of the United States; it was even possible that certain of the French leaders had purposely done nothing, out of hostility to the Emperor Napoleon. No names were mentioned, but it was obvious that Maximilian was alluding to Bazaine. He wanted by hook or by crook to damage Bazaine, cast suspicion upon him, and so bring about his removal.

"My policy," wrote the Emperor, "and my principles have

long since been known to the world, and I have never changed them. Whoever saw me in Italy might have known what would happen in Mexico. Even when I was in Italy, I was in favour of reforms in accordance with the spirit of the age, and the abolition of religious abuses. But there the clash was not so apparent, for I had the able majority of the clergy of Lombardy on my side; above all, the celebrated Bishop of Pavia, and afterwards, thanks to my efforts, the Cardinal of Venice. My only serious difficulties were with the Archbishop of Brescia, a rigid and incapable fanatic. The Pope upheld me then, as he will later uphold me in opposition to certain fanatics in our country."

The rest of the letter was almost exclusively devoted to defending himself against Gutierrez's admonitions that Maximilian ought to be a good Catholic prince. Such he was, had always been, and ever would be. He had his own chapel in the Palacio Nacional of Mexico, another had been built in Chapultepec, and he had his own oratory in the church at Cuernavaca. Three priests were permanently attached to the Court, there was a Jesuit preacher, and the festival of the Blessed Virgin of Guadalupe was celebrated annually with indescribable splendour. He had made his visit to Rome *against* Napoleon's wish, in order to ask for the Pope's blessing, and one of his first acts of government had been to send an envoy to the holy places in Palestine. It was only certain practices such as novenas, the saying of the rosary, and the discipline of the scourge, in which he and the Empress could not take part, for this was a kind of devotion to which they had never been accustomed.

The whole letter showed that Maximilian still clung to his original principles, and once more gave proof of his old fault: namely, that he believed in the ability and trustworthiness of those only who, like Loosey, the consul-general, reported in a sense acceptable to him.[66] But he showed by the touching way

[66] The judgment of Count Giorgi, Austrian Minister in Washington, was quite different. "I presume that Herr Loosey, the consul-general in New York, has by now waited upon Your Excellency; he is a consummate swindler, who knows very well how to reconcile this with his own interests. His schemes are swindles." From a private letter of Count Giorgi to Count Rechberg, Washington, December 21, 1863. V. N. A.

in which he defended himself in detail against Gutierrez's reproaches how much he was affected by everything that came from him. Although the Emperor was inspired by entirely different ideas, he began to feel uncertain whether he ought not to have followed all Gutierrez's advice from the beginning, however uncompromising it might be. In any case, he was not offended at what the Mexican said; on the contrary, he praised his candour, which had its source in " the pure and honourable heart of his dear friend." He showed him an outward sign of this when, on April 10, the anniversary of his acceptance of the crown, he bestowed upon Gutierrez the collar of the imperial order of the Mexican Eagle, one of the highest distinctions which it was in his power to confer.

But Gutierrez wanted to be paid in hard cash. So far, when there had been any question of asking for money, he had always put his sons forward. But since they did not receive the compensation he had demanded for the alleged devastation of their estates, he addressed himself personally to the Emperor, out of " considerations dictated by the most imperious and sacred duty." He called to mind his services in connexion with the foundation of the Empire, and insisted that the most valuable part of the *hacienda* as it was returned to the family was its inventory, the contents of which had been stolen and destroyed. His sons were the victims of their father's political convictions and personal sacrifice for his country, and were now faced with ruin.

The fact of the matter was that Gutierrez was afraid the Empire was going to collapse, when his property would again be lost. He could hardly sell it without betraying to Maximilian his gloomy view of the future and his own intention of staying away from Mexico. But the Gutierrez family wished to continue to live comfortably in France and Italy, to which end they required the compensation for which he was asking. It is possible, too, that they had an opportunity of selling their estates under the rose. Gutierrez, who had so far appeared to be aflame with pure love of his country, now showed that he was on the same plane as Hidalgo. Such were the two fathers of the idea of the Mexican Empire.

Pierron, the French staff captain in the Emperor's secretariate, had already been indignant at the bestowal of the order upon Gutierrez.[67] His view was that it was no doubt a service to have believed in the monarchy, but "faith without works was one thing, being forward in the fight quite another. In the hour of danger good wishes are not enough." Maximilian turned a deaf ear to all that he did not wish to hear.

Gutierrez's oft-repeated advice to form a Conservative ministry had made a strong impression upon the Emperor, who was not blind to the untrustworthiness of his Liberal counsellors. After hesitating for some time, he dismissed four Liberal members of the Cabinet, among them Ramirez, and replaced them by Conservatives. Only two Liberals remained in office, one of them Castillo, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Gutierrez at once communicated the Emperor's letter to Napoleon, true to his habit of giving third parties access to his correspondence, however confidential; the Emperor and Empress read it, and thus became acquainted with Maximilian's outbursts against France.

Meanwhile the general situation in Europe had become critical. The unnatural *condominium* of Prussia and Austria in Schleswig-Holstein was bound to lead in the end to a quarrel between the two countries, all the more so since Bismarck judged that the time had come to settle the question of the future hegemony of Germany by arms. He had already drawn Italy into his net, in order to bring her into an alliance against Austria, and begun his clever manœuvres in Paris, the aim of which was to induce Napoleon by hints and promises to look on with folded hands at the progress of the struggle between Prussia and Austria. A nervous atmosphere was hanging over Europe, and especially over Paris. About that time Drouyn de Lhuys expressed the opinion that there was a general feeling in France that her hands were tied by the Mexican expedition, and that this state of affairs was more odious than any other to the French.

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[67] Pierron to the Emperor Maximilian, Mexico, April 9, 1866. V. N. A.

Napoleon III would have to be very much on the alert if he was to maintain the leading position in Europe. The news which kept coming in of the military preparations in Prussia kept Paris in a constant state of excitement. In his heart of hearts Napoleon had become entirely alienated from the Mexican enterprise, and he was seized from time to time with a burning impatience to wind it up as quickly as possible. At these moments he would seize his pen and write to Bazaine. This happened once more on February 16, 1866.[68] Bazaine was now to assume, in conjunction with Langlais, the control of all public business; that is to say, of the army and finance. The Emperor Maximilian ought to be left with as trustworthy a support as possible. With this in view the French Foreign Legion was to be increased and supplemented by the troops composing the Austrian and Belgian corps, which were to be disbanded. The expenditure on the army up to the end of 1867 was to be defrayed by France, but on condition that the volunteer forces should be placed under Bazaine's command, and the most important customs-houses handed over to the French. For the rest, Napoleon advised that the Empire should be organized as a sort of confederation — an idea which there could have been no question of carrying into effect in the then state of affairs. But Napoleon's letter was chiefly concerned with finance. He wished to hold the customs-houses for a long period and have half of their revenues ear-marked for France. To this end a few thousand soldiers were still to remain for a number of years at the customs-houses of Vera Cruz, Tampico, etc. Maximilian was hardly mentioned; he was merely to cut down expenses thoroughly. The letter was the merest theory, and showed Bazaine once more how urgent was Napoleon's desire to get out of Mexico as safely as possible, and particularly on the best financial terms.

If Maximilian had known of the substance and tone of Napoleon's last letters to Bazaine, he would certainly have been under no further illusions. For up to now he had counted

[68] Napoleon III to Bazaine, Paris, February 16, 1866; printed in Gaulot, op. cit., II. 256.

confidently upon Napoleon's fidelity and friendship. The letter of January 15 ought to have opened his eyes, but Maximilian would not believe that Napoleon seriously meant to throw him over. "It seems to me impossible," he wrote at this time,[69] "that the wisest monarch of the century and the most powerful nation in the world should give in to the Yankees in this somewhat undignified way."

Maximilian's answer, which, though he was deeply hurt, was worded in a dignified way, had made an impression upon Napoleon. It was peculiarly painful to the Emperor of the French that Maximilian should reproach him with a breach of the Convention of Miramar. In his reply [70] he defended himself on the ground that Maximilian had stated in December 1865 that he could no longer pay his contribution of twenty-five million francs towards the upkeep of the French troops, so that he had been the first to infringe the Convention; whereas it was not till the year 1867 that Napoleon fell short by some four thousand men of the number of troops agreed upon. He understood the difficulties which had assailed Maximilian on all sides, and had therefore intimated to Bazaine and Dano that they were to remit the repayment of the capital of the twenty-five million, and for the present claim no more than the interest; likewise to take over the maintenance of the Austrian and Belgian troops at the expense of the French State Treasury.

"I therefore," wrote Napoleon, "confine myself to telling you frankly that it is my liveliest wish, as well as being to my truest interest, that the Mexican Empire should maintain itself. I shall therefore *do all that is in my power to support Your Majesty in the consolidation of your government,* which, in my opinion, ought for the present to devote its full attention to the organization of finance and the army. . . . But Your Majesty must also understand my embarrassments. The interest which we may have in the foundation of a great empire in Mexico has not been sufficiently appreciated in France, and

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[69] The Emperor Maximilian to Degollado, March 8, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

[70] Napoleon III to the Emperor Maximilian, Tuileries, April 12, 1866; original in V. N. A.

it would be impossible for me to ask the Corps Législatif for fresh sacrifices in favour of an enterprise which arouses so many prejudices and might be the cause of the most serious developments."

In conclusion Napoleon conceded a most important point to the Mexican Emperor and Empress, by holding out a prospect of the speedy recall of Marshal Bazaine and the appointment of General Douay as commander-in-chief.[71]

This letter was handed to Maximilian by Major Loysel, who had returned from Paris. The attempt it made, in view of impending events, to attribute the first infringement of the Convention of Miramar to Maximilian was, to say the least of it, most questionable, for, as Maximilian said in his answer to the Emperor,[72] the Secretary of State for Finance had pointed out in December 1865 the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of paying France the sums owing by the terms of the Convention. But Maximilian had not been unwilling to pay, and had actually given orders to hand over the sums owing to France up to June of that year. The monthly instalments of more than two million francs had also been punctually paid, so that at the beginning of 1866 the Mexican Government was in arrears with not more than about half a million francs.[73] It was true that the expenses of the French intervention kept constantly growing, owing to the continual movements of troops and expeditions and the wasteful way in which they were conducted; and these would not be covered, by a long way, by the sums payment of which had been provided for in the Convention of Miramar. But there was one thing that Napoleon ought not to have done; namely, once more to promise his support to Maximilian when he had long made up his mind to turn his back on Mexico. For the saving clause "as far as is in my power" made it easily possible for him to find a pretext for not fulfilling his promises. On the other hand,

[71] Napoleon III to the Emperor Maximilian, Tuileries, April 12, 1866; original in V. N. A.

[72] The Emperor Maximilian to the Emperor Napoleon, May 18, 1866; draft in V. N. A. Portions are printed in Domenech, III. 386.

[73] See Schmit von Tavera, op. cit., II. 69, and the official report published by Payno.

this amounted to arousing fresh hopes in Maximilian, who, as Napoleon knew, was clutching at any straw. But perhaps even Napoleon then thought that Maximilian would in the end be able to hold his own without French troops. At least, it was possible for him to hold this opinion in view of Bazaine's reports.

The Empress Eugénie had taken advantage of Loysel's return to Mexico to convey various strictures to the Mexican Emperor and Empress upon their conduct towards France and her representatives in Mexico. In November of the previous year the Empress Eugénie had written angrily to Charlotte [74] that she had heard how, in spite of all the Emperor Maximilian's urgent requests for French financial officials, he had suddenly preferred to appoint a Mexican as Finance Minister. This piece of information was accompanied by the gravest criticisms and admonitions, from which it was apparent that Eugénie and her consort blamed the Mexican Emperor and Empress for the desperate condition of the finances. Loysel had also to act as Eugénie's mouthpiece in another connexion. The Empress complained that Baron Saillard had not been presented to Charlotte, and that Maximilian and his wife, while attending the funeral of the Belgian Baron Huart, had not attended that of Langlais, the Frenchman, or of the French Colonel Tourre, who had perished in a fire. In conclusion, the Emperor and Empress of the French hinted that a mass of laws had been promulgated and but few of them carried into effect. Such was the effect of Maximilian's announcement that he would forward "several volumes of laws" to Napoleon.

The Empress Charlotte began by defending herself against the financial charges.[75] The tone of her letter to Eugénie was rather irritable; she said that the money was there to be spent, that neither she nor Maximilian were responsible for the state of the finances, and that they could do nothing to alter it. She

[74] The Empress Eugénie to the Empress Charlotte, Compiègne, November 30, 1865; original in V. N. A.

[75] The copy of this letter is not to be found; its contents can be gathered from Eugénie's answer to Charlotte and also from a remark of the Empress Eugénie.

also raised objections to the other reproaches.[76] This letter was even less amiable, and reveals an utter absence of that tone of cordial and sincere confidence which had characterized all their letters up to these two last. Eugénie had felt injured at the first of them, and made no secret of this to Charlotte.[77] This marked the end of the correspondence between the two Empresses.

Napoleon's last letter to Maximilian had just been sent off when a fresh emissary was dispatched by Maximilian to Paris — the third, counting Eloin and Loysel — once more with the object of talking Napoleon round and winning him over. Hidalgo had resigned; now Almonte, Napoleon's former favourite, was to step into the breach. He took with him exhaustive instructions, including another draft secret convention,[78] which had already been given definitive form, to take the place of the Convention of Miramar. The provisions were drawn up under an entire misapprehension of the situation, for they proposed commitments on the part of the French Government going beyond even those in the Convention of Miramar! Thus the French troops were to remain in the country to support the Imperial Government until the interests of French subjects should be "guaranteed" and "the country entirely pacified" — that is to say, for an indefinite period, though in a supplementary article it was estimated at about three years. A decrease from November onwards was to be allowed for. For the rest, the Mexican Government was ready to continue to pay twenty-five million francs per annum. A fresh attempt was made to get rid of Bazaine — Napoleon's letter had not yet arrived — and to obtain full powers of command over the Mexican army as well as over the French officers of lower rank who would remain behind in place of Bazaine.

Article 8 of the draft ran as follows: "Since the French

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[76] The Empress Charlotte to the Empress Eugénie, Cuernavaca, May 16, 1866; autograph copy by the Empress Charlotte in V. N. A.

[77] The Empress Eugénie to the Empress Charlotte, Tuileries, May 30, 1866; answer to the first letter, of which no copy exists in V. N. A.

[78] Both the instructions and the draft convention are extant in V. N. A.

army has been reduced, and the larger bodies of Dissidents have disappeared, small portions of them being left, which have absolutely no political character, but whose sole aim is to disturb peace and order, there is no further necessity for the Government to carry out great military operations by the aid of masses of French troops; for which reason it is no longer compatible with Marshal Bazaine's rank to remain here as commander-in-chief of the French expeditionary force, and he shall therefore be replaced by another commanding officer of lower rank. The latter shall take his orders from the Emperor of Mexico, as regards both the organization and the movements of the troops under his command."

Article 9 provided that: "In consideration of the great proofs of courage and fidelity displayed by the Mexican army, in spite of its small numbers and the fact that it is as yet unorganized, its general-in-chief shall in future receive his orders and instructions direct from his Emperor."

In this way it was desired to effect the removal of Bazaine and the transference of control into the hands of the Emperor Maximilian. They had as yet no idea that Napoleon had already conceded the former, and that to mix this up with the transference of the supreme command to Maximilian might easily upset Napoleon's previous decision again. But this was not all: French officers were to be given leave to enter the Mexican army with a higher rank, and were not to be allowed to exert any influence upon the administration. Napoleon was further to place a fleet at Maximilian's disposal for patrolling both coasts, so as to facilitate their pacification. Moreover, until the country should be fully pacified, the French State Treasury should advance sums for purposes of military expenditure, for so far the revenue could not be collected regularly. Mexico would continue, as before, to expend a thousand francs a year on every French soldier.

Almonte was accordingly to make provision for supplying the Mexican Government with the necessary money. If the French troops were to stay any longer, they must be removed from the capital and transferred elsewhere, so as not to clash with the national troops. Almonte was charged to assure

Napoleon that Maximilian would show himself accommodating in respect of the financial arrangements for this. The dismissal of Ramirez had already given proof of his true friendship, and he would also appoint a French Secretary of State enjoying his and Napoleon's confidence in place of the existing (Liberal) Minister of Justice. Moreover, in order to console Marshal Bazaine for his recall, which Maximilian desired, he would confer on him the title of duke, have a medal struck with the likeness of the two sovereigns, and decorate all the French soldiers with it who had served in Mexico.

Maximilian thought he could even give Almonte's mission the character of an ultimatum. He appointed July 15 as the term of the negotiations, so that they could not be drawn out too long. Such were the official instructions; the secret ones went still further. Maximilian took up an attitude towards France which was hardly intelligible in such a state of affairs. He was like a desperate gambler, who does not care about anything. And so he empowered Almonte "in case France would not accept the convention as a whole, at once to withdraw such stipulations as were disadvantageous to Mexico." "If the unexpected case should arise," he went on, "that Napoleon will have none of the new convention, then Señor Almonte shall make the positive statement that the Emperor of Mexico requests that the French troops shall at once leave Mexico. If this extreme case occur, Almonte shall give the Emperor Napoleon to understand that His Majesty the Emperor Maximilian will never abandon his great work, but, true to the responsibilities of the position which he has assumed for the benefit of Mexico, will remain in the Empire as a good Mexican and share its fate." [79]

While Almonte was on his way, Baron Saillard had returned to Paris, outraged at his treatment in Mexico; he complained of this, and moreover roundly asserted that it was impossible for the Empire to last. His reports still further embittered the hostile attitude towards Maximilian which prevailed in Paris. Napoleon, who felt what a thunderbolt his letter of January 15 to the Emperor must have been, was the

[79] Maximilian's instructions for General Almonte, April 4, 1866. V. N. A.

only person who was a little more just. " I have received a very vehement and angry letter from the Emperor Maximilian," he remarked, " but I am not offended, and understand, on the contrary, that he must have suffered from the decision which I announced to him." [80]

The necessity for withdrawing his support from Maximilian caused Napoleon personal grief. He was not, as has often been represented, a cruel man, casting away his puppet Maximilian with a cold smile, though many of his letters and actions give this impression. But he saw that the Mexican enterprise was a lost cause, in which he had allowed himself to become involved through his wife's rash advice and the temporary elimination of the United States, but which now involved serious danger to France, owing to the new position of affairs both in America and in Europe. He therefore said to himself that personal considerations must be disregarded, that even promises which he had made ought not to bind him when it was a question of protecting his country, and with it his dynasty. As regards material considerations, he certainly kept France's interests in view with too little regard for all others. In spite of this, the part which he was forced by necessity to play towards the Mexican Emperor and Empress was equally painful to him and to the Empress Eugénie. Both of them suffered from it, especially Eugénie, who was conscious of her responsibility. But his experiences with Mexico aroused in Napoleon a distrust for the political foresight and advice of his consort which led to momentous decisions later.

Loysel had also brought with him a letter from Napoleon to Bazaine,[81] in which he approved the proposed gradual withdrawal of the troops at stated intervals. But he did not venture to order Bazaine to return, for he did not wish to give him the impression that he was acceding to Maximilian's wishes, which were well known to the marshal. He therefore confined himself to instructing him to return to France " when he considered that circumstances demanded it." At the same

[80] Telegram from Pierron to the Emperor Maximilian, May 14, 1866, with regard to Loysel's reports. V. N. A.

[81] Napoleon III to Bazaine, April 12, 1866; see Gaulot, op. cit., II. 300.

time he once more enjoined upon him to take all measures which might enable the Emperor's Government to maintain itself out of its own resources, even after the withdrawal of the French.

Loysel, the bearer of all these communications, had been in an awkward position even in Paris. In spite of his sympathy for Maximilian, he felt himself to be first and foremost a Frenchman and a French officer, and was naturally bound to feel the influence of his home and his supreme war-lord. It was no wonder that, upon his return, fresh from the impressions of his native land, Loysel approached Maximilian with rather more reserve. Maximilian soon noticed this, and found Loysel's accounts disappointing, for they revealed the trend of Napoleon's ideas only too clearly. "I am not much satisfied with Loysel," he wrote to Eloin,[82] "for since his mission he has undergone an entire change of front, and now takes the marshal's part against us all." Loysel's attitude now became more plain; even before, he had been in perfect understanding with the marshal, only it had been kept more secret, and Loysel had then no idea of how far Maximilian had already been thrown over in Paris. He now began to take sides, and espouse the cause of his own country.

On May 20 Almonte arrived in Paris. He was received by Napoleon and handed him his credentials as Hidalgo's successor. Napoleon at once explained to Almonte, before even looking at the Emperor's letter, that he was not in a position to countermand the recall of the French troops now that the prospect of it had been held out in his speech from the throne, especially as French public opinion would oppose it as one man. Complete evacuation must therefore take place by the end of the year. But the Emperor added the assurance that he desired nothing more earnestly than the consolidation of Maximilian's Government, and that the latter ought to follow the advice he had given him.

Drouyn de Lhuys used similar language. But when the Emperor and his minister read the draft secret convention, their

[82] The Emperor Maximilian to Eloin, Chapultepec, May 28, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

amazement at the illusions under which Maximilian appeared to be labouring knew no bounds. The answer of the French Cabinet accordingly took the form of a flat refusal,[83] on the ground that Maximilian's proposals were totally unacceptable.

Almonte had arrived in France at a particularly unfortunate moment. As the Austro-Prussian conflict in Europe became embittered, and the French also appeared likely to become involved, the United States grew more and more pressing. Eloin reported [84] from Brussels that the entire abandonment of the Mexican enterprise was being advocated on all sides with a cynicism that roused him to indignation. In Paris the ministers themselves were openly talking about it, and even the Mexicans living in Paris, including the Gutierrez family, lamented it, while Señora Almonte was congratulated by everybody upon having left Mexico. It was even expected in Belgium that the United States would demand the withdrawal of the Belgian troops, just as had happened in the case of France, and as was imminent, by all accounts, in Austria. The Empress was most alarmed, and her letter to Charlotte of May 30 [85] gave evidence of her ideas on the outbreak of a European war, which might end in the overthrow of one country after another.

Meanwhile Bazaine began at once to carry out his Emperor's orders in Mexico. The measures which he took to concentrate the French troops gradually were at once noticeable; all the remote places which he evacuated were at once occupied by the republican troops. The marshal also took in hand his task of providing for the safety of the Emperor by forming an efficient Mexican army. He proceeded to raise mixed detachments composed of French and Mexicans, which were to form nine battalions of four hundred men each, known as *cazadores* (*chasseurs*). The name had been proposed by Maximilian, who had borrowed it from the *Jäger* of the

[83] The full text of the answer is in V. N. A. and has been read by the author. It has often been published before in part; see Gaulot, op cit., II. 334; Domenech, III, 388; Schmit von Tavera, II. 108.

[84] Eloin to the Emperor Maximilian, May 22, 1866. V. N. A.

[85] The Empress Eugénie to the Empress Charlotte, Tuileries, May 30, 1866; original in V. N. A.

Austrian army. At the end of March, in accordance with his orders from home, the marshal replied to the request of the Mexican Government for advances from the French Treasury to pay the Austrian and Belgian Legion that he had orders not to advance any money. If, however, these legions were combined in one corps with the French Foreign Legion, under the command of a French general, the French Treasury would provide for their upkeep.[86]

Maximilian yielded to compulsion and accepted this proposal. He tried to sweeten the bitter pill for the officers of the non-French legions by informing Bazaine that he was to entrust the organization of the new corps, which was to be under the command of General Brincourt, to a commission, in which he included General Count Thun and Lieutenant-Colonel van der Smissen, the heads of the two legions as well.[87] But there remained a sort of tacit understanding between Maximilian and Thun by which the independence of the Austrian corps was to be maintained as far as possible. The general and various other officers wanted to send in their resignations, and so the reorganization proceeded with constant difficulties and friction.

The Emperor Maximilian was determined, in spite of the military and financial difficulties of every sort, and in spite of what he called the French efforts "to muddle our affairs (*d'embrouiller nos affaires*)," to carry through a settlement of all these things "in the teeth of everything (*contre vent et marée*)."[88] In order to force Bazaine to proceed zealously with the organization, he invited him to attend the weekly military conferences which took place with Maximilian as chairman. He also addressed a letter to the marshal, reminded him of Napoleon's desire that he should give every assistance in the organization of a stable army, and requested him to "make haste" and raise twenty thousand men for the national army, with the forces led by Mejía, Mendez, and Garcia as a nucleus, and to hurry on the formation of the mixed battalions.

[86] Bazaine to the Emperor Maximilian, March 30, 1866. V. N. A.
[87] The Emperor Maximilian to Bazaine, Mexico, April 3, 1866; draft in V. N. A.
[88] The Emperor Maximilian to Eloin, May 18, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

The Emperor also proposed to discharge for the time being all those elements which would never form anything but a worthless and undisciplined rabble; he advocated the idea of allowing the regimental commanders to form their own infantry and cavalry regiments.[89] The former of these measures was very dangerous, for it created a number of discontented men, who went over to Juarez in a body. But Bazaine did not allow himself to be turned aside from his intentions by the Emperor. Maximilian's displeasure at this found open expression at the sittings of the military board. The Emperor even thought of sending the minutes of these sittings to Napoleon, so that he might see who was working and who was not. Maximilian hoped to have finished the organization of the army by the middle of the summer, and then to carry out a scheme of pacification on a large scale throughout the whole country, whether Bazaine liked it or not.

Maximilian had written proudly to Eloin that the personal control of army reorganization was in his own hands. Hearing that the Emperor Francis Joseph had said warningly to Herzfeld in Vienna that his brother ought not to meddle with it, that he was a naval officer and understood too little about the army, he was deeply hurt, and on that very day gave orders to Pierron to draw up a full scheme of the projected army organization. It was ready by the end of the week and Maximilian sent it to Vienna, as a reply to this well-meant advice, with the following letter:[90]

"Dear Sir, my brother: I send you herewith a scheme for the reorganization of my army, that you may convince yourself that your former admiral has, since his sojourn in free America, acquired the capacity to introduce a good organization into a completely disordered military system. I hope that you will find improvements in it which the professional routine of Europe has not yet succeeded in carrying into effect, but which must inevitably end by winning the day. I should be very much obliged to you if you would kindly give me your expert opinion on the subject."

[89] The Emperor Maximilian to Bazaine, Cuernavaca, May 17, 1866. V. N. A.
[90] The Emperor Maximilian to the Emperor Francis Joseph I, Palace of Mexico, May 28, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

This was carrying things off with a very high hand, and was all the more out of place since the organization was still in its infancy, and could of course not be mentioned in the same breath as that of the old-established armies of Europe, let alone being represented as superior to them. The same might be said of Maximilian's entire personal control; for hardly a fortnight after Maximilian's letter had gone off to Eloin, he was writing to Marshal Bazaine that he, the marshal, was commander-in-chief of the army and sole director of military movements, and therefore knew best what was necessary,[91] on which account he entrusted him with " absolute power " with a view to the organization of the Franco-Mexican battalions and the national army. Indeed, no other course was possible to the Emperor, since he himself, hampered financially and with a treasury always empty, could not possibly meet the expense of reorganization.

Early in May Lacunza, the President of the Council of State, had to announce[92] that the money from the loans was exhausted, and the pay and equipment for the troops that had been raised could no longer be provided. The customs-houses of Tampico, Mazatlán, and Matamoros no longer brought in anything, for the connexion between these ports and the hinterland had been cut by the Juaristas. If the French Government did not put adequate supplies of money at their disposal to meet their urgent necessities, the troops would have to be disbanded, which would mean the loss of the greater part of the country and danger to the inhabitants of French nationality. The only chance of salvation would be for the French paymaster's department also to pay the Mexican troops. Maximilian thereupon summoned to him Bazaine, Dano, and Maintenant, the new French financial plenipotentiary, explained the situation to them, and requested — not without some threats — a monthly subsidy of 800,000 pesos (4,000,000 francs). They finally settled it at 500,000, subject to the approval of the French Cabinet.

[91] The Emperor Maximilian to Bazaine, Mexico, June 3, 1866; draft in V. N. A.
[92] Minutes of the session of the Council of State, May 1, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

Bazaine found himself in an awkward position. On the one hand he was forbidden to expend money for Mexican purposes; on the other hand he had got to raise a Mexican army. This could not be done without money; on the contrary, even the existing army bade fair to fall to pieces unless it received financial support. The contradictory orders and claims coming from Paris made Bazaine's life a burden, for he endeavoured to be an obedient soldier. Those who issued them looked at everything from the European point of view, and could not have the remotest conception of the real conditions in Mexico.

In his painful anxiety to create a substitute for the departing French troops, Maximilian had thought of following Napoleon's advice, at least in part, and, if possible, bringing over a stronger force of volunteers from Austria. Provided this remained a private matter of Maximilian's, there was no reluctance in Vienna, for exalted circles in Austria now desired that Maximilian should maintain his position, since things had gone so far. In any case this assistance was not to go beyond the fresh drafts necessary to maintain the numbers of the Legion. The Court of Vienna was more optimistic than public opinion and the press, since it received none but rosy accounts from Maximilian.

The necessary negotiations were entrusted by Maximilian to his minister, Barandiaran, who at once opened conversations with Count Mensdorff. They were hampered by the fact that hostilities with Prussia were then threatening to break out at any moment. In spite of this, an agreement was arrived at on March 15 by which 4,000 volunteers were granted exceptionally for the year 1866, and 2,000 for other years, as fresh recruits for the Austrian Legion in Mexico. The Emperor Maximilian was delighted at these urgently necessary reinforcements, and even, if we are to believe a remark of Baron Meysenbug's, hoped to get these numbers increased. He beguiled himself with the hope that the United States would not interfere and held that they had no intention of making war; all their threats to France were mere boasting;

indeed these did more good than harm, for they stirred French national feeling to its depths.[93]

Maximilian's optimistic views on this subject were mainly to be attributed to Count Rességuier's favourable reports from New York. Rességuier was much dissatisfied with President Johnson, who was still thinking about war, but in particular with Seward, the Secretary of State. Though he considered that the latter's position was very insecure, and that his popularity was on the wane, Rességuier was very much afraid of him, and asserted that he might be regarded as "the most unprincipled and treacherous Yankee of his day." The Marquis de Montholon, the French Minister, had lately been conspicuously friendly with Seward. His sole object was to save France at all costs from the risk of war. "He sacrifices everything else to this," reported Rességuier,[94] "and it is sad to have to admit that he has done the Empire more harm in Washington than all its enemies." Thus, shortly before this, he had expressed the conviction that the Empire would not be able to maintain itself without the help of French troops.

The Emperor Maximilian said in answer to the Count[95] that he approved of all his proposals with regard to the press and other matters, and hoped by this means to achieve a success adequate to his expectations.

Shortly afterwards arrived a report from Rességuier that Santa Anna had arrived in New York — with what purpose was as yet unknown — and bought a house there. The feeling with regard to the Mexican Empire in the eastern states had decidedly improved; in the west there was still work to be done, especially in influencing the Irish. Rességuier kept a sharp watch upon Montholon and Seward, about whose plans and intentions he had no illusions. "The Marquis de Montholon," he wrote,[96] "is pursuing his dubious and harmful

[93] The Emperor Maximilian to Loysel, March 16, 1866; draft in V. N. A.; printed by Domenech, op. cit., III. 349.

[94] Count Rességuier to the Emperor Maximilian, May 10, 1866. V. N. A.

[95] The Emperor Maximilian to Rességuier, Cuernavaca, May 17, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

[96] Count Rességuier to the Emperor Maximilian, New York, May 25, 1866. V. N. A.

policy; he continues to prophesy that war is inevitable, and seems to have ruined pretty much all that there was to ruin. And though he never tires of boasting that he is Your Majesty's most devoted agent, he displays a short-sightedness, malice, and professional humbug that astound everybody." Rességuier at least had no doubt that in the event of a European war Seward would be inclined to adopt a far more peremptory and hostile tone towards Mexico.

This explained Napoleon's attitude towards the United States. Even Maximilian now noticed that he "displays a certain timidity which I had never before noticed in the Emperor's vigorous character." [97]

Like Bazaine, Montholon was first and foremost a faithful servant of his master. Owing to their past disagreements, he had not much liking for Maximilian, and therefore merely informed him, in accordance with Napoleon's views,[98] that since the French intervention had taken place at the time when they were weak, the American people had always felt a resentment, which would not disappear till the French expeditionary force had been recalled. When once this had taken place, he wrote, the situation would entirely change; the Monroe Doctrine would no longer be in question, and the United States would then be able to arrange matters with the Mexican Emperor.

Washington, however, had really quite a different intention; the United States were firmly resolved to place the republican Government in power again in Mexico. They no sooner heard of the conclusion of the new agreement than Seward sent instructions to Mr. Motley, the American Minister in Vienna, to ask for his passports as soon as the first Austrian troop-ship left for Mexico. He also declared to Romero in the presence of several persons that in future any intervention by a European power in the internal affairs of Mexico would be regarded by the United States as a *casus belli*.[99] As the complications in Europe increased, the tone of the United States

[97] The Emperor Maximilian to Eloin, February 28, 1866; draft in V. N. A.
[98] The Marquis de Montholon to the Emperor Maximilian, Washington, April 15, 1866; draft in V. N. A.
[99] Baron Wydenbruck to Count Mensdorff, April 25, 1866. V. N. A.

became correspondingly insolent and threatening, especially towards Austria, which was in serious danger of war.

In spite of this, Austria wanted to abide by her agreement, which was signed on May 1. But immediately afterwards a vigorous protest arrived from the United States against the dispatch of any more volunteers; adding the proviso that, if this were not agreed to, the United States would regard themselves as being in a state of war with Austria. This was too much for the Austrian Government, which was on the very eve of a rupture with Prussia. Count Mensdorff got into touch with the French Ambassador, the Duc de Grammont, who sounded Paris, and received the answer that "they ought to act with the utmost prudence, and prevent the embarkation of the volunteers." The minister accordingly gave way, and sent word to Washington that recruiting for Mexico would be suspended, and no more volunteers would be sent. It was now the turn of Barandiaran, the new Mexican Minister in Vienna, to protest. Baron Meysenbug, who had previously been so lavish in promises, now laid such stress upon the dangers which threatened from the United States and the American filibusters, that at last Barandiaran said roughly: "Look here, Baron, you seem to think the filibusters capable of swallowing babies alive. I know the Yankees, I lived among them for five years; they are not so dangerous as they seem to be from this distance." But all in vain; the threat of war from the United States had settled the matter.

Count Mensdorff gave as the reason for the abandonment of Maximilian by the Vienna Government that it was to Maximilian's best interests that the United States should not come out in open hostility to him.[100] But he informed the Austrian Minister in Mexico secretly and confidentially that Austria was involved in such grave complications abroad that it had become important not to increase the number of her enemies, and to avoid a breach with the United States.

The news of these incidents had still far to go before it came to Maximilian's ears. Meanwhile he busied himself with the fate of the concordat at Rome, which the three members of

[100] Count Mensdorff to Count Thun, May 25, 1866. V. N. A.

the special commission, as well as his confidential agent Fischer, were endeavouring to arrange, though without any tangible result so far. The commission had at first not been much edified by Fischer's appearance, and Velazquez de León wrote home that he simply could not stand Fischer. But the Emperor Maximilian remarked that "more engines make a ship go faster, more valves are always an advantage." Father Fischer, who did not like the lukewarm proceedings of the commission, avenged himself in his own fashion in a report to the Emperor,[101] in which he said that the Pope had told him when he received him in audience that nothing could be attempted on the basis proposed by the commission. "Eh!" exclaimed Pius IX, "the Mexican triumvirate! The first is a child, the second a blockhead, and the third an intriguer. That is what has come to us from Mexico."

But the members of the commission knew nothing about these reports of Fischer's, and at last came to terms with their rival, for they had long known that their task was impossible, and that there was an irreconcilable opposition between the views of the Curia and those of Maximilian. They were convinced that in the end Fischer would meet with as little success as they had themselves. The Jesuit at first adroitly argued that if the clergy and the Church worked against Maximilian, the Emperor would probably fall; but it remained to be seen whether the results would be any more agreeable to the Church. Fischer wanted to combine the project for a concordat put forward by the commission and his own into one new proposition, but the claims of the Church were irreconcilable with either of them. Both the commission and Fischer fostered Maximilian's hopes that they would even now achieve a success. For it was very pleasant to live in Rome at the expense of the State, and the news from home made a return seem very undesirable. Accordingly word was sent to the Emperor that the commission and Fischer were now on the best of terms.

Maximilian had sanguinely looked forward to a speedy result from the priest's mission. He still did not wish to intervene personally, so he told Fischer the three points by which he

[101] Father Fischer to the Emperor Maximilian, Rome, January 8, 1866. V. N. A.

set the most store:[102] all ecclesiastical enactments should be subject to the imperial sanction; the censorship of books was not to be in the hands of the clergy, but public instruction might be entrusted to them. On all other points — apparently liberty of worship as well — the Emperor stated that it would be easy to come to terms; in other words, he began to make considerable concessions. In March encouraging reports arrived, and Maximilian already thought that everything was settled, and that he might recall the commission, leaving Velazquez and Fischer in Rome till the formal conclusion of the concordat.

The correspondence between the Emperor and Father Fischer was particularly lively at that time. The latter's letters were like voluminous journals of gossip about the Papal Court. They gave the latest news about Cardinal Antonelli's mistress, and told how Cardinal Alfieri would sell himself body and soul to anybody who might help him to obtain the tiara. These pamphlets in letter form, written in a brilliant, if fatiguingly long-winded style, were distinguished by their sensationalism and cunning. Fischer also managed cleverly to slip in remarks directed against his enemies. The report on Fischer's scheme for the concordat had been entrusted to Bishop Munguia, and since his criticism was unfavourable, the priest railed against him in every letter. The impressionable monarch's marginal annotations to Fischer's reports show how he allowed himself to be taken in by him. He repeatedly assured the writer of his "deepest gratitude, his extreme interest," promised[103] to abandon the "arch-intriguer" Munguia immediately upon the conclusion of the concordat, and could not say enough in recognition of the priest's activity. "I received your two charming letters of May 11," wrote the Emperor on one occasion, "with heart-felt joy, and read what was in them with the greatest interest, enchanted with the lucid intelligence and just judgment that shine in every line. If I had only six diplomatists like you, our affairs would be in a very

[102] The Emperor Maximilian to Father Fischer, February 16, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

[103] The same to the same, May 27, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

different state. The more and the oftener you write, the better I shall be pleased." [104]

And yet the Emperor had absolutely no cause to be so pleased. In reality Father Fischer had accomplished no more than the commission; his reports were his only success.

But the hard facts were soon evident. The Curia was watching events closely. Accounts kept coming in from all parts of Mexico that the Emperor would not be able to maintain himself; and in that case there was no reason for granting any more concessions. And so the negotiations were spun out under every kind of pretext. The Emperor Maximilian was disappointed and embittered. He expressed his feelings in severe language in a letter to Velazquez de León.[105] He complained bitterly of their "language full of duplicity" and "promises which were never fulfilled." He now wanted the commission to come home, for it had already been in Rome more than a year without accomplishing anything. Naturally, said the Emperor — and in the following observations the effect of Fischer's reports was apparent — in Rome there was never time to work.[106] During the carnival the Cardinals had to dance, and slept all day in order to recover from their late nights; in Lent these holy men went in for such severe asceticism that they had no strength for work. In Holy Week they had to sing and arrange processions, and during the weeks following Easter to spend their time in eating and drinking, in order to restore the strength which they had spent in fasting. While they said "white" to Señor Velazquez, they whispered "black" into Fischer's ear. The commission was told that no negotiations would be conducted except with them; and then Father Fischer would be told that he was the only person they could deal with. The Emperor Maximilian was indignant with the clergy, but in order to prove that this involved no detriment to his religion, he intended to buy a little old church in Rome and dedicate it to Our Lady of Guadalupe.

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[104] The Emperor Maximilian to Father Fischer, June 14, 1866; draft in V. N. A.
[105] The Emperor Maximilian to Velazquez de León, head of the special mission to Rome, Chapultepec, April 19, 1866. V. N. A.
[106] The same to the same, Chapultepec, April 30, 1866. V. N. A.

The Emperor attributed the failure of the concordat not only to the ill will of the Curia, but to the intrigues of Mexican ecclesiastics, whose conduct he intended to punish "in an exemplary fashion." [107] He further ascribed it in no small measure to lack of support from the European powers. The reports of the situation in Europe, which was coming to a head, gave him food for thought, and seemed to him to presage a general storm. It was only in France that he continued to place any reliance. "It is sad," he wrote,[108] "to see how blind the venerable Governments of old Europe are and ever remain, how they learn nothing and never rise to the level of their age; it is only France which now has a brilliant position, and this nation will be the only one which will in any way profit by these complications, thanks to the cleverness of its sovereign."

Thoroughly out of temper, Maximilian instructed Velazquez [109] to ask the Curia categorically whether it intended to conclude the concordat or not. But this was not the way to advance matters — Maximilian now wanted to do the same in Rome as he had done in Paris — but Velazquez did not take the peremptory steps prescribed to him, and everything remained vague.

Napoleon now appeared to regret his hard dealings with Maximilian. Perhaps, he thought, he had acted prematurely out of anxiety at the threats of the United States. News had come to him from his confidential informants which left no doubt of the fact that if the French troops did not wipe out the military forces of the Juaristas and their leaders before leaving, the whole structure of the Empire would soon collapse. The Emperor of the French naturally said to himself that such an event must also be extremely damaging to his prestige. Just before Almonte explained the object of his mission, he therefore sent Bazaine a copy of an extract from one of these letters from his unofficial "confidants," and contradicted his previous letters by suddenly again demanding that Bazaine

[107] The Emperor Maximilian to Velazquez de León, Cuernavaca, May 18, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

[108] The Emperor Maximilian to Eloin, May 4, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

[109] The Emperor Maximilian to Degollado, Mexico, May 29, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

should closely follow up the various Juarista leaders and annihilate them, so that Mexico should be pacified before it was evacuated by the French troops. Thus what had not been possible in four whole years was now to be quickly disposed of at the last moment, when the concentration and evacuation of the army of occupation had already been started. The letter [110] accurately reflected Napoleon's state of mind, which had already been noticeably influenced by his bad health and dissolute life. The Emperor's weakness often showed itself in the fact that, as contradictory reports assailed him, his actions became uncertain and wavering, and his orders and counter-orders often cancelled each other. It was not till the middle of June that the letter reached Bazaine's hands; that is to say, when his arrangements for the evacuation were already considerably advanced, and the Juaristas, who were pressing him on every side, and whose members increased like a perfect avalanche when the impending departure of the French became known, could already point to considerable successes everywhere. In the north especially, the situation had become more and more unfavourable, since it was no longer the Confederate troops which were keeping guard on the Rio Grande del Norte, but the troops of the United States, which were hostile to the Mexican Empire, and supported the cause of Juarez whenever they could.

In the north-east the Juarista leader Escobedo had raised a considerable body of troops to oppose the imperialist General Mejía, who held the important post of Matamoros. In Tamanlipas, the region between Tampico and Matamoros, the insurgents were completely master of the situation. If any attempt were made to transport goods from these ports into the interior, even under guard, they were fallen upon and captured. In March Chihuahua had also been definitively lost.

On receiving this news Maximilian sent a request to Bazaine on May 28 that Juarez, who had once more entered that town, should be driven out again. On the previous day the Emperor had informed Napoleon that he was going to ask the marshal to do this, and took advantage of this opportunity to

[110] Napoleon III to Bazaine, May 15, 1866; printed in Gaulot, op. cit., II. 311.

send him the memorandum on the new army organization [111] and to complain of Bazaine, who, although he had assured Maximilian of his "entire co-operation," was refusing to grant the French officers and non-commissioned officers those advantages which could alone induce them to remain in the service of Mexico for another five years.[112] Yet a little while later Maximilian succeeded in coming to an agreement with Bazaine, at any rate about raising the battalions of *cazadores*, which were also to be in part officered and supervised by Frenchmen. He was pleased to be able to inform Napoleon of this without delay.[113]

Bazaine was at first entirely opposed to the reoccupation of Chihuahua so peremptorily requested by the Emperor, and since it did not fit in with his plans for general withdrawal, and he had not yet received Napoleon's letter of May 15, he postponed the undertaking, so as first to ask for instructions from Paris. In the mean time he received Napoleon's letter, and accordingly prepared to accede to Maximilian's request.

General Escobedo now succeeded on June 16 in overpowering a big imperialist supply column on its way from Matamoros to Monterey. A number of Mexican imperialist soldiers who formed the escort went over to the enemy, and those who remained faithful, among them some Austrian volunteers, were wiped out or taken prisoner. It was a heavy blow for the Empire, both materially and morally.

Maximilian now heard how the Austrian volunteers had been kept back at the instance of the United States. He had based the highest hopes upon these reinforcements. Deeply disappointed, he now complained of the "unpardonable weakness of the European powers toward the United States," [114] at the same time declaring that he would none the less remain

[111] It discussed the organization of the division consisting of the Foreign Legion (15,000 men), the eight Franco-Mexican battalions, and the national army with a cadre of French officers.

[112] The Emperor Maximilian to Napoleon, Palace of Mexico, May 27, 1866; copy in V. N. A.

[113] The same to the same, Palace of Mexico, June 10, 1866; initialled draft in V. N. A.

[114] The Emperor Maximilian to Duran, Palace of Mexico, June 16, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

faithful to his duty of protecting the independence and dignity of his country by every means! "If all the Governments of Europe," he wrote, "desert Mexico, I shall not leave my fatherland in the lurch, and shall always be resolute in fighting for its good." For his home-land Maximilian had nothing but resentment and indignation. "If Austria had been loyal," he wrote to his minister in Vienna,[115] "she would at once have embarked the troops, but such a nerveless and faithless Government could naturally not behave otherwise." He also used bitter language about Meysenbug and Mensdorff, as if they could have done anything else.

Meanwhile things were getting worse around Matamoros. General Mejía, who had lost most of his garrison in the surprise attack of June 16, had at last, on the 22nd, to agree to a capitulation, but was allowed to depart unmolested, with the rest of the garrison. The impression produced on the country was a lasting one. One of the largest and most important towns, an important customs-house and fortress, had been taken, and Mejía, the Emperor's best general, defeated. Desertion became rife among the imperial troops. Even in the Belgian Legion at Monterey an attempt at mutiny was discovered. There was endless friction between French, Belgian, and Mexican officers. The order for the disbandment of the Belgian Legion, which was issued as a result of the attempted mutiny, could not be carried into effect, owing to the threatening attitude of the men. There was also discontent in the Austrian corps in consequence of the irregular pay and bad food.

The new Austrian *chargé d'affaires,* Baron Lago, who arrived from Vienna still under the impression aroused by the Emperor Maximilian's imprudent conduct in the business of the Family Pact, pronounced a regular funeral oration over the Empire.[116] Juarismo, he said, was raising its head on all sides, and confidence in the permanence of the monarchy was disappearing daily. Its most zealous adherents were growing apathetic, the Emperor's former popularity had given way to

[115] The Emperor Maximilian to Barandiaran, Chapultepec, June 16, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

[116] Baron Lago to Count Mensdorff, Mexico, June 28, 1866. V. N. A.

a cold, if respectful, indifference, the Liberals remained sworn foes of the throne, which they approached only in order to betray it more easily — in short, the account he gave of Mexico could not have been worse.

Another Austrian, too, General Count Thun, the officer commanding the Austrian volunteer corps, caused the Emperor nothing but worry. He was indeed in a difficult position with regard to his corps, which only received very irregular pay, but he put forward his demands in such a tone, and took so little pains to induce his men to consider the Emperor's difficult situation, that he was bound to give the impression that he too had come to the conclusion that the Empire was lost, and that there would soon be a general *sauve qui peut*. Moreover his vanity was severely wounded by the threat of placing him under the command of the French.

On one occasion, when the Mexican Ministry of Finance, with the best will in the world, was unable to meet the order for the Austrian volunteers' pay, Count Thun, on June 21, 1866, addressed the following telegram to the Emperor:[117]

"I ask for orders as to what I am to do when Your Majesty's Ministry of Finance disregards Your Majesty's orders, and desires to provoke a catastrophe, which will thus become inevitable, and for which I cannot be responsible.

"Thun, General."

Maximilian, who was then staying at Cuernavaca, thereupon telegraphed to Pierron that he must arrange matters with Thun. Pierron had the worst opinion of the general, which was exasperated by the antagonism existing from the outset between the French and the Austrian officers, and he reported to Maximilian accordingly. The Emperor, who was still furious at the attitude of Austria about the volunteer reinforcements, replied that Thun's proceedings did not surprise him, for he had often met with such violent and lawless characters among the Austrian generals.[118] "These

[117] V. N. A.

[118] The Emperor Maximilian to Pierron, Cuernavaca, June 23, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

persons," wrote the Emperor angrily, " recognize no law, no public welfare; they know nothing of the machinery of good government. Thus a wise government demands that the men of the sword should obey blindly and never speak or judge."

Maximilian then gave Pierron further instructions as to what was to be done to prevent Thun from causing a scandal. Once more the Emperor laid down what was in his opinion necessary: they must base themselves upon the Indian race, form a good national army, introduce order into the finances by developing their natural riches, attract good, honest people to them — an excellent program, only the Emperor lacked the means to carry it through!

Pierron, whom the Emperor Maximilian had come to trust more and more, never ceased preaching " energy." He was convinced that in so doing he was giving his Emperor good advice. But the Emperor was deaf to it all. Once more the court-martial at Aguascalientes sentenced five persons to death, and once again Maximilian pardoned the culprits. The Mexican General Mendez had interceded for them. Pierron made a stand against this, and, in order to give the Emperor firmer views, related the following anecdote: " One day a philosopher prince visited a jail, where all the prisoners alleged that they were innocent, only one of them admitting his guilt. But did the prince set free the ones who asserted their innocence? Not at all. ' Set the guilty man free,' he ordered, ' for he is not fit to mix with honest, upright people.' " " What will the people of Aguascalientes say? " said Pierron; " what will the judges say? I have no doubt on this point, I have heard it often enough. One despairs of the pacification of the country by such means. It is a fine thing to have liberal ideas, but government is another matter.

" I know that Your Majesty will be annoyed at my persistence in the question of the courts-martial. But shake off the atmosphere of the Court, do not ask the opinion of those fools of lawyers (*licenciados*), but that of all people of practical ideas, all foreigners, whoever they may be, and you will find that in their eyes you stand for justice, reason, and truth."

It is surprising to see a young captain taking such a tone

with the Emperor. It may have been well meant, but the form was certainly unjustifiable, and had the worst possible effect upon the cause, for it was thus that, in spite of his extreme reluctance, those drastic measures were wrung from the Emperor which were afterwards forged into a terrible weapon against him. By the time he was brought to account for these measures, all his advisers had long been safe in hiding.

In his reply to Pierron the Emperor remarked [119] that he had never lacked energy, but the public weal demanded that he should never stray from the path of justice. The Emperor did not conceal from himself the necessity for severity; but he aimed at substituting deportation for the death penalty, as indeed Pierron himself had formerly advised. And so he gave confidential orders to Pierron to draw up carefully as complete a list as possible of the suspects in the capital and its surroundings. These persons were then all to be arrested by night, and conveyed without delay to Vera Cruz, where a steamboat was to be ready to carry them over to Yucatan.

By this means both the Juaristas and the partisans of Santa Anna would be dealt with in the same fashion, and the Emperor promised himself a material improvement in the political situation in consequence. It was essentially the same thing as Maximilian's model Napoleon III had done in the night of December 1–2, 1851 in Paris, on the occasion of his *coup d'état*. Maximilian was still fascinated by Napoleon's personality and actions, and liked to imitate him. In spite of all that had happened, he could not get away from Napoleon. On June 29 he again expressed in a letter [120] his satisfaction that the Emperor's personal feeling towards him and Mexico had not changed; he had in him a true friend. His overestimate of Napoleon and his strength was shown by his expressing the hope that in order to solve the problems outstanding in Europe a European congress would meet, with

[119] The Emperor Maximilian to Pierron, June 28, 1866; initialled draft in V. N. A.

[120] The Emperor Maximilian to Almonte, Chapultepec, June 29, 1866; draft in V. N. A.



THE EMPEROR
MAXIMILIAN'S GOLDEN SCEPTRE,
containing a roll of parchment with the signatures of the Mexican deputation



THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN'S
OPERA-GLASS

Napoleon as its president, and draw up a declaration against the United States and the Monroe Doctrine at the Emperor's instance.

With this in view Maximilian suggested that as soon as the summoning of the conference should be decided upon, Napoleon should invite the representatives of the European powers vigorously to assert the principle of their legitimate influence in the New World.[121] The Emperor once more gave proof of his sincere confidence in Napoleon's readiness to help him, by at the same time requesting him to provide artillery, commissariat, and administrative officers, since, thanks to the zeal of Bazaine's new chief of the general staff, General Osmont, and Commissary-General Friant, army organization was progressing well. Maximilian also desired the return of Generals Brincourt and Garnier and "impatiently" awaited the under-secretaries of state for Justice, Education, and Commerce whom Loysel had already asked for in Paris. The more anxious the French became to retire from the game, the more Maximilian endeavoured to make them useful to the Empire.

But the reply of the French Cabinet to Almonte's note of May 31, which was handed in by Dano, the French Minister, made it quite clear that France was now abandoning them entirely. It brought Maximilian back to realities with a jerk. It not only contained a flat refusal, but it showed that Almonte's activities had only exacerbated the hostile attitude entertained in some circles in Paris. This detailed memorandum[122] attempted to place upon Mexico and Maximilian the responsibility for all that had gone wrong. It first expressed surprise at their complete misinterpretation of the situation, then asserted that Mexico had fulfilled her obligations to France only very imperfectly, and drew attention to the fact that France's expenditure was steadily rising; stress was further laid upon the "systematic opposition of Maximilian's advisers," and it was stated that Almonte's proposals

[121] The Emperor Maximilian to Napoleon III, June 29, 1866; initialled draft in V. N. A.

[122] Copy in V. N. A.

were based upon illusions, and could not even be taken into consideration.

Finally, Maximilian was to sign an agreement, intended to replace the Convention of Miramar, in which was demanded, among other things, the handing over of half the revenues of all the customs-houses, a quarter of which was already earmarked for the purposes of the English loan. If Maximilian were unwilling to accede to this, all the French troops would immediately be withdrawn; otherwise they would abide by the terms already stated.

These demands cut the ground from under Maximilian's feet. The customs receipts, which were already considerably curtailed by the loss of Matamoros, were the sole financial resource still at the disposal of the Imperial Government. Moreover, Bazaine received instructions from Paris immediately to suspend the payment of the half-million francs a month promised by him to the Emperor of Mexico by agreement with Dano, subject to the consent of the French Government, and intended chiefly to cover the cost of the organization of the *cazadores*. Almonte had openly demanded Bazaine's recall, but even this concession was now revoked, and, as we have said, the marshal was given the option of remaining in Mexico as long as he thought fit. In these changed circumstances it naturally went without saying that the French troops would undertake no fresh major operations.

By this means France abandoned this "bad business," merely hoping to save as much money as possible from the "crash (*débâcle*)." They ceased to trouble about Maximilian; he might help himself as best he could. At last his unshakable belief in Napoleon's friendship was forced to waver.

Almonte had had to wait in Paris for a whole fortnight before his requests were dealt with, and he did not find out the actual contents of the memorandum until he pressed for an answer. In his perplexity he reported to Maximilian that it was impossible even to obtain their consent to Bazaine's monthly payments, and that he was leaving it to Herzfeld, who was in any case on his way to Mexico, to enlighten the Emperor upon the lamentable condition of public opinion in

Europe. In spite of the complete failure of his efforts, Almonte could not refrain from taking advantage of this moment of extreme depression to recommend to the Emperor, in the interests of his own party, a complete change in the personnel of the Government, and a Conservative orientation of policy.[123] But he did not now venture to urge upon Napoleon the immediate withdrawal of the French troops, as he had been instructed. He was too much under the spell of his former patron Napoleon. And so Maximilian had to submit to Napoleon's threats to withdraw the troops as a measure of compulsion, when he had wanted to demand it himself out of wounded pride. As a lightning flash suddenly illuminates the darkness, it suddenly became clear to Maximilian that he was betrayed and abandoned. He was no longer obeyed by anybody.

Moreover, bad news kept coming in from all over the country. The whole of the north was rising. Juarez was being encouraged by the United States, and even the great highway connecting Mexico City with Vera Cruz was threatened. Army organization was hindered by innumerable obstacles, and now the Minister for War reported that the financial situation was such that he feared the payment of the troops might have to be completely suspended, though he was implored on all sides to provide pay for them.[124] On top of all this, on the morning of July 6 arrived the news of the outbreak of war between Austria and Prussia, and the feverish unrest which had taken possession of the whole of Europe. Under the influence of this news, E. Bournouf, a French official, wrote to the Emperor from the palace in Mexico City [125] that France was remaining neutral for the present in the conflict between Austria and Prussia, but that Napoleon aimed at winning the left bank of the Rhine and securing the frontier of the Alps for Italy. Even if a general European war did not break out, the powers would have to remain under arms for a long time to come. But this meant that Mexico would be left to her fate. America would now do the same as Europe had done when she profited

[123] Almonte to the Emperor Maximilian, June 7, 1866. V. N. A.
[124] Garcia to the Emperor Maximilian, July 9, 1866. V. N. A.
[125] E. Bournouf to the Emperor Maximilian, July 6, 1866. V. N. A.

by the struggle between the North and the South to establish herself in Mexico. Bournouf also seized this opportunity of insisting upon the same point as Pierron. "What is going on in Europe," he wrote, "offers a favourable opportunity for retrieving our position by a *coup d'état*. Your Majesty and your ministers should use the iron hand, and you, Sir, in particular must do violence to your character *and to that love of pardon which possesses you*. I, Sir, republican democrat as I am, lay my hand upon my heart and say to you: be a dictator like Cæsar, or, better, like Napoleon I; at this price alone can the salvation of the Empire and of the Mexican nation be achieved. That is to say, in two words, what is wanted is a man in Napoleon's entourage who is not afraid to tell the truth, and, in Mexico, the most absolute dictatorship in your hands."

By this confidential agent in Napoleon's entourage Bournouf meant himself. He too was attracted by the prospect of changing the insecurity of Mexico for the safety of Paris. His admonitions were therefore very transparent.

Léonce Détroyat, Under-Secretary for the Navy, who had been employed in the Emperor's secretariate but who was regarded among his fellow-countrymen as too open a friend of Maximilian's on this account, and was therefore induced to leave his immediate service, wrote a frank letter of warning to the Emperor before leaving him. He had his master's welfare at heart, and, what is more, he had a clear and just view of the situation,[126] and implored him to harbour no illusions. "The fate of the Empire," he wrote, "is at stake at this moment. The veil has been drawn aside. Napoleon's policy, which has been equivocal for some time past, is now clear for all eyes to see. It will end in Your Majesty's fall. The Convention of Miramar can no longer be appealed to, the friendship of a brother sovereign can no longer be believed in, there is not a soul who has received a letter from Europe but says: 'The

[126] Léonce Détroyat has himself published part of this letter of warning, dated July 6 and 7, 1866, in his book *L'Intervenion française au Mexique* (Paris, 1868), p. 299, which was quoted by Ollivier, op. cit., XI. 72. But he omitted all references to Napoleon, since his book appeared during his reign. The originals, both dated July 6, 1866, are to be found in V. N. A.

Emperor is about to fall.' Your Majesty may hope to obtain something by struggle and resistance, *but I believe that they are in vain; nay, more, that they are dangerous.* . . . The French troops are bound to retire now at all costs. Bazaine has had a sort of vexatious trusteeship, ill conceived and exercised in the wrong spirit, which led to lamentable results. But now Napoleon says: 'I can no longer fulfil my obligations, I violate them all; I withdraw my troops, demand my money, and abandon you.' "

Détroyat next advised the Emperor to issue a proclamation to the Mexicans, saying that he had come to save them from anarchy; that he had undertaken a hard task, but had trusted blindly to the promises of a sovereign who had sworn to support him and never to abandon him. But everything had turned out differently. Badly served and ill supported, he had not been able to accomplish his proud task as he had dreamed of doing; and he therefore bowed to cruel necessity, and returned home, though during the whole of the future he would never lose sight of the interests of Mexico. " This is what I should do," wrote the honest Frenchman, " and that without hesitation or delay. But so as to be loyal to the end, I should write a plain-spoken but dignified letter to the Emperor Napoleon, I should tell him my intentions, at the same time reminding him of his promises, I should make no secret of my painful surprise at his proceedings, I should unmask my enemies ruthlessly, and, what is more, since there is a God who punishes all evil deeds to all eternity, I should with all respect speak my mind to him with regard to the final outcome of this ill-fated drama. Sir, I have spoken to you out of the fullness of my heart."

The Emperor Maximilian was deeply impressed by this straightforward, loyal statement, quite appropriate to the situation, made by a man worthy of the highest esteem for adopting such an impartial standpoint, in spite of the fact that he was a Frenchman and that it was not without danger to him personally. He could not help recognizing that his adviser was absolutely in the right, and saw the moment approaching when he would have to say that further efforts were useless. He had a hard struggle to wage with himself. It was most painful to

him to have to return to Austria and admit to his brother, and all those who had warned him, that he had been mistaken, and that the enterprise he had undertaken with such enthusiasm had miscarried. Yet he could see no alternative.

He had already resolved publicly to announce his abdication, when the Empress Charlotte intervened. During the past year she had taken very little part in politics, devoting herself indefatigably to charitable works. But now, when she saw her husband and her crown threatened, the ambition and thirst for power which she had inherited from her father awoke in her. Must her consort be sacrificed to intrigue, malice, and a passing whim of fate? Must he throw away in a moment the whole of that brilliant work for which he had striven and longed for so many years? No, a thousand times no! While her husband was still wavering, Charlotte urged him to give up this idea, to be a man and hold out. She finally offered to go to Europe herself, to obtain further support from the Emperor Napoleon III and the Pope, and satisfaction for the vital needs of Mexico.

Maximilian rallied once more to his wife's energy and fortitude. In the depths of his soul it was terribly hard for him to sever himself from the idea with which he was wholly possessed, of regenerating a richly endowed people which had fallen into anarchy, and bringing it happiness by his work and care. He therefore clutched with all his strength at this last expedient. It was settled that the Empress should visit Europe, but that she should go only to Paris and Rome; she was to avoid Brussels and Vienna on account of the attitude of the two Governments towards the volunteer question.

On July 5 the Emperor Maximilian announced his wife's impending departure to his mother, the Archduchess Sophie:[127]

"Dearest and best of mothers: I am taking advantage of this safe opportunity of Charlotte's visit to Europe to send you these lines, dearest Mother. Charlotte is making a trip to the

[127] The Emperor Maximilian to the Archduchess Sophie; Chapultepec, July 5, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

Old World, to act as our most trustworthy and skilful ambassador for Mexican affairs. She bears with her my secret instructions, the main object of which is to call to mind certain promises for the good of Mexico and ask for support in certain points. Words cannot describe how much it costs me to part from her; to know that one's faithful life-companion, the star of one's existence, is so far away, and that at a moment when perhaps the whole of Europe is in a conflagration, is extraordinarily hard; but one must make every sacrifice — even the heaviest — in the fulfilment of one's duty. To have done one's duty in every respect is a comfort and a satisfaction which braces one. I hope, all the same, that Charlotte will soon have dispatched her business, and will be able to be back again with me in a few months' time. The months during which we shall be separated by the ocean will indeed be the hardest trial of my life, but great sacrifices must be made for great objects.

" Besides, the time will pass more quickly, and seem more easy to bear, because I shall probably undertake a number of important tours in the country during Charlotte's absence. Since Europe has begun falling away from us on all sides in the basest way, and the world now grown old is quaking in cowardice before North America, the utmost exertion has become doubly necessary here.

" The European sovereigns will bitterly regret one day the unpardonable weakness with which they have bowed before our neighbouring republic, through ignorance of its nature; but that does not concern me, I have to think night and day of nothing but how to save my new, but already so dearly beloved country, in so far as my poor strength allows. In this dutiful and loving intention Charlotte stands at my side, faithful, upright, and active, and this is the explanation of her hastily arranged journey and her coming stay in Europe. May God be with her, and bring us back to each other well, happy, and contented! If she succeeds in her difficult mission, Mexico must be doubly grateful to her. She is accompanied by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who is a faithful, honest man, and will certainly support her loyally in her difficult negotiations. She has also the faithful Bombelles, one of our chamberlains, and a delightful lady-in-waiting with her. I do not yet know whether Charlotte will be able to make a short flying visit to our beloved Miramar. She cannot, unfortunately, visit Brussels

or Vienna at present, for political reasons; moreover her presence would, I think, be awkward in the critical circumstances of the moment. The Austrian Government in particular was forced by the political situation to behave to our volunteers at Trieste in a way which makes it impossible for Charlotte to visit Vienna at present. The same is the case with regard to Brussels. This, too, is a heavy sacrifice for poor Charlotte, but duty takes precedence of everything."

The letter closed with a heart-felt request from the Emperor that his mother would pray without ceasing for him, alone in a distant world.

This letter had hardly been written when he was seized with a fresh idea. He could not get Détroyat's words out of his head. Was not his wife alone in her advice? Had such a young woman enough political judgment to form a decision in so grave a moment? Once more Maximilian began to waver in his resolution and ask himself whether the Empress's projected journey would not end in disappointment, whether it would not be better to lay aside the crown at once. When the Empress saw her husband's state of mind, she brought still more drastic measures to bear upon him. She knew her husband very well, and knew that he was peculiarly sensitive upon points of honour. She resolved to appeal to him through his honour as a man and a sovereign, and at this decisive moment she drew up a memorandum,[128] which she handed him in person, and then calmly waited for it to take effect.

"Charles X,"[129] stated the Empress, "and my grandfather[130] ruined themselves by their own act by abdicating. Therefore it ought not to be done again. The former made the future of his dynasty impossible *et fait briser les fleurs de lys en sac de l'archiduché*.[131] The latter, after a prosperous reign

[128] Copy in V. N. A.

[129] Charles X, King of France 1824–30, abdicated after the July revolution of 1830 in favour of his grandson Henri, Duke of Bordeaux, who never succeeded to the throne.

[130] Louis Philippe, King of the French, 1830–48. His daughter Marie Louise was Charlotte's mother.

[131] Quoted in French, since it is not quite clear what the Empress Charlotte meant.

of eighteen years, condemned his family to a lasting exile, and his government to be handed down to the lips of our contemporaries as no more than a government of talkers (*rhéteurs*).

" Abdication amounts to pronouncing sentence on oneself, and writing oneself down as incompetent, and this is only admissible in old men and idiots, and is not the thing for a prince thirty-four years of age, full of life and hope in the future. Sovereignty is the most sacred possession existing among men, one does not give up the throne like an assembly surrounded by a body of police. The moment one assumes responsibility for the destiny of a nation, one does it at one's own risk, at one's own danger, and one is never free to give it up. I know of no situation in which abdication has been anything but a mistake or a piece of cowardice, it could only be necessary in case of some offence against the interests which one is bound to protect, the prospect of an onerous treaty, or a cession of territory; then it is a subterfuge and an expiation, it could never be anything else. Moreover, a man can resign only when he is in the hands of the enemy, in order to deprive the actions he has been forced to perform of any legal character.

" Louis the Great once said in battle to an Englishman who wanted to take him prisoner: ' My friend, kings must not let themselves be taken prisoner in case of defeat.'

" Very well, then, I say that emperors do not give themselves up. So long as there is an emperor here, there will be an empire, even if no more than six feet of earth belong to him. The Empire is nothing but the Emperor. It is not a sufficient objection that he has no money, one will get it if one has credit, but credit can be got only by success, and success — is won by effort.

" And if one has neither credit nor money, one may win them so long as one has breath, and one ought not to despair. If one says one has subsequently discovered that a task which one has undertaken and held to be possible is impossible after all, one will not be believed by anybody. If one adds that one is withdrawing because one supposed that one was laying the foundations of a nation's fortune, but has become conscious of

the contrary, this amounts to giving oneself a slap in the face; what is more, it is a lie, if one is actually and for ever the sole sheet anchor of this nation.

" Conclusion: the Empire is the only salvation for Mexico; everything must be done to save her, since one has pledged oneself to do so by oath and word, and no amount of impossibility discharges one from these. Since the affair is as feasible now as it was before, the Empire must be upheld, it must remain standing, and be defended if necessary against everybody who attacks it. The words ' too late ' must not be used here, but ' too soon.' I do not by any means ascribe the proposals of the person in question [132] to discouragement, I only consider that a man must have been in our position, or a similar one, if he is to judge it as it is; not out of an immoderate desire to keep it, but out of the duty of loyalty, patriotism, and honour. One does not abandon one's post before the enemy; why should one abandon a crown? Kings in the Middle Ages waited at least till someone came to take their states away from them before giving themselves up, and abdication was not invented till sovereigns learnt to jump on to their horses in the hour of danger. My grandfather wanted to avoid bloodshed, yet he was indirectly responsible for the blood shed in France during the February [133] and June days,[134] and afterwards on December 2,[135] not to mention what may happen subsequently. Civil war no longer exists, for it has absolutely no pretext now that Juarez's period of office has expired. Santa Anna was not elected by anybody, and it would also be considered that he had been bought by the foreigner. One does not give up one's place to such an opponent as that; one cannot say, as in a gambling-den, that the bank is broken, or the play is played out and the lights are to be extinguished. All this is worthy neither of a prince of the house of Habsburg, nor of France and its army,

[132] Détroyat.

[133] The February Revolution of 1848, which ended in the fall of Louis Philippe.

[134] The insurrection, aiming at the foundation of a " Red Republic," ending in the nomination of Cavaignac as dictator, who was leader of the rising during the bloody war of the barricades in June 1848.

[135] The street-fighting on the occasion of Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851.

which would be called upon to witness this spectacle and to sanction it, for in that case with whom would Marshal Bazaine stay on till next year? It would really give some justification for recalling Jules Favre's witticism about Don Quixote [136] if we were to play such a part, and from the sublime to the ridiculous would be but a step. To have come forward as the introducer of civilization, as a saviour and regenerator, and then to retire on the plea that there is nothing to civilize, to save, or to regenerate, and to do all this in entire agreement with France, which has always been taken for a country of intellectual power, would amount to admitting that this had been the greatest absurdity under the sun for the one as well as for the other. I hope to be able to argue like this beyond the ocean. They may play with single individuals, but they must not play with nations, for God avenges this."

The memorandum was devoid of any practical ideas; it based its arguments upon superficial analogies drawn from the history of another part of the earth, from ideas which the Empress Charlotte had sucked in with her mother's milk. The abdication of Louis Philippe had been a severe blow to King Leopold's hopes and had always been spoken about with bitterness in his family. This fact had impressed itself upon Charlotte's memory, and she now brought it into play, inwardly prompted by her ardent ambition, which could not bear the thought that she, a king's daughter, of the most noble Saxon and Bourbon blood, and her consort, the brother of the Emperor of Austria, should be driven from their imperial throne by republicans, and have to return home humiliated and crest-fallen. What sort of figure would they cut at the Austrian Imperial Court, where they could expect only a painful position, and perhaps pitying and spiteful comments? They must not give in without a struggle, and if nobody else were able to maintain them in the position which they had won, they would maintain it in the teeth of a thousand obstacles by their ardent zeal, the power of their word, the boundless strength of a beautiful and clever woman, and their enthusiasm for all that was noble and beautiful.

[136] Jules Favre had compared Maximilian to Don Quixote in a speech.

Maximilian yielded to her influence. Charlotte had taken his measure correctly. He forgot that the historical analogies were not applicable, for they only appealed to the experience of national dynasties with their roots in French soil. He gave way, Détroyat's warnings fell on deaf ears, the Emperor stayed where he was, and the Empress's journey was to be started upon without delay.

In view of the appalling scarcity of money, which paralysed the whole mechanism of State — the very money for the Empress's voyage had to be taken from the cash reserve kept to cover the paper currency — and also made the organization of the army, upon which the whole future depended, almost impossible, the Empress was first to try to obtain from France a continuation of the provisional monthly subsidy of 500,000 pesos (of five francs) which had just been suspended. With this in view she had Pierron draw up an exposé of the financial situation.[137]

Charlotte drew up with her own hand a statement of what she intended to demand. This document opened very confidently with the words that the Emperor "must" pledge himself to pay the mixed troops, numbering 20,000, out of the French Treasury, till the end of 1867.

It was further stated, in the same strain, that Napoleon "must" pay a subsidy of 500,000 piastres a month, and inform Bazaine by return of post of his appointment as commander of an army corps in France or Algiers, perhaps as army inspector at Lyons.

Brincourt was at once to replace Castagny, who was to be recalled, Douay was to be appointed commander-in-chief, with Garnier as his second in command. The Emperor must pledge himself to withdraw the French army *en bloc* only, and that not until the organization of the national army should be complete.[138]

The Emperor Maximilian saw his wife depart with sorrow.

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[137] Pierron to the Empress Charlotte, July 9, 1866; exposé of the Mexican financial situation. V. N. A.

[138] Draft of the projected demands from Paris by Charlotte, in the Empress's own handwriting. V. N. A.

"Charlotte's voyage," he wrote to his brother,[139] "is the heaviest sacrifice I have yet made to my new fatherland, and all the harder since Charlotte must travel through the deadly yellow-fever zone during the worst season. But duty demanded this sacrifice, and, God willing, it will not be in vain. . . . Charlotte, with her sure tact, will ascertain how far we can still reckon upon the help of sluggish old Europe. If the old continent abandons us entirely, out of fear of North America, as Austria has already done, we shall at least know for certain that we must help ourselves by our own efforts alone."

"Who," wrote Maximilian to the Baroness Binzer,[140] "can better obtain this security for us than the coolly calculating Empress, who alone, besides myself, knows all the secret ins and outs of our policy?"

Maximilian still had hopes of Europe, though he ought long ago to have been sure, after all that had happened, that nothing more was to be obtained.

Very early in the morning of July 9, 1866 the Empress left the capital, the Emperor escorting her for part of the way. Her journey to the coast was hindered by rain and storm. Once the wheels of the Empress's carriage broke, and in her nervousness and impatience she wanted to continue the journey on horseback. She was received in silence at Vera Cruz. The impression prevailed everywhere that she wanted to reach safety, and that the Emperor would soon follow her. But this brave woman had no such idea; on the contrary, she was quietly counting the days till she returned to Mexico as saviour and helper.

At Vera Cruz she could not help giving a symbolic expression to her indignation at the conduct of France. At the quayside lay a boat with a French flag, which was to take her to the steamer, the *Empress Eugénie,* belonging to a French company. She refused to enter it unless the Mexican flag was

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[139] The Emperor Maximilian to the Archduke Karl Ludwig, Chapultepec, July 30, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

[140] The Emperor Maximilian to Emilie, Baroness Binzer, Chapultepec, August 15, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

immediately hoisted instead of the French, and waited in the office of the prefect of the port till her wish had been complied with. When the flags were changed, she let herself be taken out to the packet-steamer, which at once started on the voyage to Europe.

Meanwhile the military situation in Mexico had become still more threatening. The provinces of Tabasco and Chiapas, the isthmus of Tehuantepec, and Guerrero in the south, the provinces of Sonora, Lower California, Chihuahua, and Tamanlipas in the north, now hardly recognized the Empire at all, and the centre swarmed with Juarista bands. In striking contrast with this was Bazaine's inactivity, which had its source in the latest instructions from Paris, contradicting those which Napoleon had sent him in his letter of May 15, in obedience to passing influences. Under the influence of this letter the marshal had had a column formed which was to make an advance into the north, thus meeting the wishes of both the Emperors, and forming a set-off against the recent Juarista successes. He had intended to visit the neighbourhood of the field of operations in person, starting on July 2. But just before this the note of May 31 arrived from Paris. This again completely changed the situation; Bazaine determined to go north all the same, but only to make arrangements for concentrating and withdrawing the troops, which had now for the first time become absolutely necessary. On July 1, when he wanted to take leave of Maximilian, who was crushed by the news from Paris, he was not received, and on July 2 he started on his journey.

During the following days Maximilian fought out the hard struggle which we have described, as to whether he should abdicate or hold out. The Empress's plan amounted essentially to making themselves once more dependent upon Napoleon and France. In this case friendly and even intimate relations would have to be resumed with the French expeditionary force. It would not be possible to maintain his reserve towards Bazaine; besides which, General Osmont was really taking great trouble over the army organization. Pierron, in writing

to the Emperor and Empress,[141] insisted most cordially upon the general's services. Maximilian now regretted that he had refused the marshal an audience before his departure for the north, when he had been in the mood to throw the whole thing up and leave Mexico. The Emperor now resolved to appoint General Osmont Minister for War, and Commissary-General Friant Minister for Finance, so as to associate them more closely with his enterprise, with which he now intended to proceed.

And so, on July 5, 1866, he wrote[142] to Bazaine, expressing the hope that, now that energy was more necessary than ever, the "campaign he had undertaken" would be crowned with success, and asked that Osmont and Friant should be placed at his disposal in order that equal energy might be shown in internal affairs; he had made up his mind to carry out his mission to the end. "With these two excellent men," he wrote,[143] "what the marshal either would not or could not do in three years has been achieved in three weeks. One can now see whose fault it is that up to now we have not been able to have an organized national army."

Maximilian hoped to have an army of forty thousand men ready for action by October. He also intended at last to establish order in the other ministries. The greatest negligence had prevailed in every department. For instance, according to the Emperor's own account, there was neither an archives department nor a protocol of presentation at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs; the most important papers were to be found scattered about the floor of the room. Documents therefore got lost, there were no office hours, and everybody did as he liked. But now the Emperor set vigorously to work to take things in hand.

Bazaine had not the remotest intention of starting an offensive. On July 11 he replied[144] to the Emperor's letter of

[141] Pierron to the Empress Charlotte, May 31, 1866. V. N. A.

[142] The Emperor Maximilian to Bazaine, July 3, 1866; draft in V. N. A. See also Gaulot, op. cit., II. 237.

[143] The Emperor Maximilian to Father Fischer, June 29, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

[144] See Gaulot, op. cit., II. 343.

the 5th that he could not come to any decision till he knew what attitude the Emperor was going to adopt in the matter of the last French note, for he had orders, in the event of the answer being unsatisfactory, to "concentrate" his troops, by which he meant concentration for evacuation. This answer was clear enough; it was a threat to the Emperor that he must comply with the French demands. In accordance with the plans which he had discussed with the Empress, Maximilian was determined to accede to all the requests of France, for only so could he hope for a favourable issue from the Empress's mission. Maximilian therefore informed the marshal of his resolve [145] to comply with the demands put forward by Dano. The Emperor further assured Bazaine [146] that, if the latter wished him to change his policy, he would accept all his proposals in advance.

Now that he had said in effect: "I will do everything you want, I bow to all your demands," the Emperor thought he might assume that Bazaine would also do all in his power to complete the pacification of the country. He expressed this hope, and added that every day's delay would increase the difficulty of the offensive, for their financial resources were being lost one after the other. In conclusion he appealed to the fact that Napoleon was bound by his pledged word, on which depended not only the existence of the Empire, but the most sacred interest of all Frenchmen in Mexico.

Maximilian had indeed but little hope that the marshal would respond to this appeal, for Pierron, who had been charged by the Empress to send her detailed reports of what went on, wrote to her at that time that, although Bazaine was bound in honour to start working again towards the pacification of the country, it was expected that he would return to Mexico City towards the end of June without undertaking any operations.[147] But it was not expected that Bazaine would do

[145] The Emperor Maximilian to Bazaine, July 20, 1866; draft in V. N. A.; the essential passages are partially given by Gaulot, op. cit., II. 344.
[146] This passage is not given by Gaulot.
[147] Pierron to the Empress Charlotte, July 20, 1866. V. N. A.



MARSHAL BAZAINE

the exact opposite, for Napoleon's secret orders to the marshal were not known at Maximilian's court.

On the same day that Maximilian wrote the marshal the letter described above, the latter addressed a letter to the Emperor from the north. He said [148] that General Douay did not dare to carry out the projected disbandment of the Belgian corps for fear of a mutiny. Instructions for the withdrawal of the troops had just come again from the French Minister for War, Randon, and three large transports had been promised for September, so that the evacuation of the country must be begun. In the first place there was Monterey, the capital of the province of Nuevo León, a rich town at the point where important roads crossed which had been repeatedly lost and retaken. The imperialist prefect had just handed in his resignation, and Bazaine took advantage of this to tell the Emperor that he intended to evacuate this place — for the fourth time — after once more destroying the military supplies and fortifications. "In the present state of the northern frontier," wrote the marshal, "I think it far more reasonable, from both the political and the military point of view, provisionally to set back the frontier. The country will thus become considerably easier to guard, it will be possible to hold it with fewer troops and means of defence, and the future will subsequently show us what we have to do."

It was already beginning to be felt by the foreign troops, both Austrian and Belgian, that Bazaine had made up his mind to leave the Empire in the lurch. General Count Thun refused to obey the marshal when the latter desired him to advance from Puebla to Tulancingo. The lack of pay and victuals also led to bad discipline, and complaints of this were heard from the Mexican people and officials. All these complaints reached the Emperor in the end, and it was only in a complete reorganization of the volunteer corps that he could

[148] Bazaine to the Emperor Maximilian, July 20, 1866; original in V. N. A. This letter is also missing in Gaulot's account. Perhaps Bazaine placed only those letters at his disposal the publication of which suited him.

see any remedy for the conditions which had become inveterate.[149]

Prospects with regard to the projected concordat continued to be bad. Maximilian deplored the fact that Mexican ecclesiastics did not scruple to intrigue against him with influential persons at the Curia, who neither knew nor understood Mexico.[150]

Moreover, the Emperor's confidence in Father Fischer was disappointed, for in spite of all his hole-and-corner intrigues, he accomplished as good as nothing.

While so many persons were leaving the Empire, as rats desert a sinking ship — among them Ignacio Aguilar, the Mexican Minister in Rome and Madrid — Herzfeld proved himself a sincere friend of Maximilian's. Though he indulged in no illusions about his Emperor's critical situation, he hurried to his side, and reached Mexico on June 10, so as to stand by his master now that danger threatened.

Although he foresaw what harm would ensue, Herzfeld had not been able to prevent Maximilian, in his indignation at the withholding of the Austrian volunteers, from instructing Barandiaran, his minister in Vienna, to inform the Austrian Government that, since the Emperor Francis Joseph had not kept his promise about sending the volunteers, the Emperor of Mexico found himself forced to withdraw from the conventions concluded with Austria, and particularly from that of April 10, 1864, since they had lost all juristic basis. Barandiaran did not at first venture to hand in this note, which was bound to deprive Maximilian of all the surviving sympathy of his family and make his position terribly difficult in the event of his return.

Meanwhile old Gutierrez and Almonte had again put themselves forward from Paris. Just as the Emperor was reflecting whether he ought not to change his policy to meet the views of France, letters arrived from them both, which induced him to take important steps. Gutierrez took advantage of his sover-

[149] The Emperor Maximilian to Commissary Estevan, July 22, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

[150] The Emperor Maximilian to Bishop Ramirez, July 19, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

eign's critical situation resolutely to advance his own ideas. In a letter forty-four pages long he vowed to the Emperor that there was still one means of salvation, and one only: namely, to throw himself into the arms of the Conservatives, who had "raised" him from Miramar to the National Palace of Mexico. A true monarchy and true Catholicism must be their guiding star; not only should Conservative ministers alone be appointed, but the whole of his principles should undergo a complete transformation in the Conservative sense.[151] Gutierrez asserted that he put forward his proposals "sincerely, faithfully, and respectfully." Maximilian allowed himself to be deluded by these high-sounding words. He had just sanctioned the transference of their patrimony to Gutierrez's sons, as requested, although they had not set foot in Mexico since their tenderest infancy. The owners of it, who had acquired the estates in good faith by legal purchase from the Government and lived in Mexico, were outraged at this. Thus the Emperor's gratitude to Gutierrez, who never failed to allude to the fact that it was he who had begun the work which Maximilian had "only" completed,[152] was expressed at the cost of his own popularity.

Almonte also wrote that unless the Emperor made up his mind to throw himself entirely into the arms of those men who had raised him to power, he must admit that the situation alarmed him extremely. But if only the Emperor would follow his advice, he hoped that, even if it were no longer possible to count upon assistance in money or troops from France, that country would still help them with arms, munitions, other military supplies, and war-ships. This was a bold assertion, based on the flimsiest grounds. He added with equal assurance that so soon as France had retired from Mexico, she would make a declaration to the effect that she would allow no other nation to intervene in the affairs of Mexico! As if France had the power to back up such a declaration with the requisite pressure! Even Forey was stated to have said that salvation ought from the very beginning to have lain in co-operation with the Conservative party. This last remark was a lie; Forey

[151] Gutierrez to the Emperor Maximilian, Paris, June 23, 1866. V. N. A.
[152] The same to the same, Paris, July 21, 1866. V. N. A.

had never been of this opinion. All these views, promises, and pieces of information were retailed with the sole object of drawing Maximilian once and for all into the current of Gutierrez's and his associates' party views.

This time the Emperor yielded. He had come to grief with his liberal ideas; so perhaps the others were right and he was wrong. Nothing else was left to him; once again he capitulated, and so a new policy of "action" was now to be adopted. The guiding principle was now "energy" at home, protection of respectable and "peaceable" persons, and severity towards the enemies of order; and intimate co-operation with France abroad.[153]

The energy was soon manifested by the arrest, on July 14, in accordance with Pierron's proposals, of seventeen of the most important opponents of the Empire; that is to say, of men some of whom had really been traitors, but the rest of whom were guilty of nothing save a lack of sympathy for the French.[154]

Maximilian now followed French inspiration in everything. The further France withdrew from him, the nearer he tried to draw to France. Without even waiting for Bazaine's assent, he appointed General Osmont Minister for War, and Friant Finance Minister in the new and entirely Conservative Cabinet, at the head of which was Theodosio Lares, formerly president of the Assembly of Notables which had elected Maximilian as Emperor. This step signified a complete abandonment of Maximilian's political convictions, though Eloin at the same time received instructions to publish assurances in the European press that the Emperor held fast to his liberal principles.

Maximilian asked Bazaine's consent to the appointment of these two Frenchmen, and tried to conciliate the marshal by granting him the right to remove on his own initiative officials of the civil administration in the north to whom he objected.[155]

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[153] Almonte to the Emperor Maximilian, Paris, June 30, 1866. V. N. A.

[154] The Emperor Maximilian to Salazar Ilarreguí, Mexico, July 26, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

[155] The Emperor Maximilian to Bazaine, July 25, 1866. V. N. A. See Gaulot, op. cit., II. 347.

This was a great deal, for requests of the sort had been resolutely rejected before. The offer was now made to Bazaine spontaneously, still in the hope of winning him over to an active offensive. But the marshal refused to be led astray. He evacuated Monterey, the most important commercial centre, and also Saltillo, and gave only a provisional consent to lending the generals, subject to the sanction of the Paris Cabinet.[156]

Meanwhile Maximilian had also given his consent to the oppressive agreement promising France half the customs revenue. It was signed on July 30, four days after Lares, the Minister-President, entered upon his office. Maximilian hoped that Bazaine would now have no further excuse for inaction and would once more start upon the pacification of the country.

France's action was to a certain extent comprehensible; large sums had been invested in the Mexican expedition, and with the withdrawal of the troops she lost the means of forcing Mexico to make any further payments; she therefore made haste to squeeze as much as possible out of the country while the troops were still there.

Meanwhile Bazaine's evacuation orders were carried out. Douay withdrew from the north with his troops, his heart full of shame and bitterness. In the early days of August the important customs port of Tampico was given up to the Juaristas, who hastened to make a warning example of it by setting up a gallows in the chief *plaza* and stringing up the imperialist prefect. The evacuation of the northern province by the French was trumpeted abroad on all sides as a victory by the Juarista General Escobedo.

Maximilian was deeply distressed by these events. He wrote to Pierron from Chapultepec, where he had learnt of them, that he was to speak to General Osmont at once about the half-hearted way in which Bazaine was carrying out his operations, and request him to communicate the marshal's plan of campaign and further intentions to the Emperor. "For," observed the Emperor, "just as the marshal is responsible for

[156] Bazaine to the Emperor Maximilian, August 4, 1866; ibid., II. 350.

the honour of France, so am I for that of Mexico." [157] He also wrote to Bazaine in person,[158] saying what ruinous effects the results of the northern campaign would have for Mexico. The Emperor also asked him to inform him of his plans, so that the partisans of the Empire in the territories to be evacuated could at least be warned, as the Emperor's honour demanded. Maximilian was justifiably angry that both he and his Government had been left in ignorance of the projected measures of evacuation. Bazaine felt that, in view of the Emperor's constant insistence upon an offensive, it would have been rather paradoxical to answer: " I will start an offensive, but I am going to evacuate such and such a town or province." He therefore preferred to say nothing, and allowed everything to come as a surprise to the Emperor. Douay, who was undoubtedly not in agreement with Bazaine's tactics, asked to be relieved of his command " for reasons of health," and was only with difficulty deterred by Bazaine. The four or five thousand French subjects living in the country were also greatly affected by the measures of evacuation; the revival of the Juaristas' courage and the massacre of a few French citizens here and there (Santiago) made it look as if there might be a second edition of the Sicilian Vespers.[159]

Maximilian's indignation at Bazaine's precipitate evacuation knew no bounds, and he did not conceal it from the French Minister. To this were added crushing anxieties about money. He had already cut down his civil list for the second time, and paid heavy sums out of it which were really due from the Treasury.[160] The first time the civil list had been reduced to a

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[157] The Emperor Maximilian to Pierron; draft, urgent and confidential, Chapultepec, August 4, 1866. V. N. A.

[158] The Emperor Maximilian to Bazaine, August 4, 1866; draft in V. N. A. Partly printed in Gaulot, op. cit., II. 357, and Schrynmakers, op. cit., p. 314.

[159] Private letter of M. Roger Dubois, French consul in Chihuahua to Pierron, August 7, 1866. V. N. A.

[160] The civil list originally consisted of 1,500,000 pesos, but was reduced first to 500,000 and then to 300,000. Expenditure on building, furniture, etc., the national donation of 150,000 pesos to the Iturbide family, and the 100,000 pesos allotted for the contingent repurchase of the palace of Buena Vista, presented to Marshal Bazaine on the occasion of his wedding, were paid out of the civil list instead of out of the Treasury.

third, the second time to a fifth, of the original amount; that is to say, the sum alloted to Iturbide as Emperor.

In view of the anarchy that was spreading on all sides, the Emperor Maximilian intended to proclaim martial law over wide areas. But Bazaine was well aware that this measure could only be the source of numerous embarrassments to his plans for leaving Mexico, and so he advised against it.[161] On the day afterwards he received Maximilian's letter of August 4, and at once answered at length [162] that he would have explained his intentions to the Emperor if he had been received before his departure; that the blame for the loss of Matamoros and Tampico lay to a large extent with the lack of support with which he had met from the Mexican officials and troops, and next with Thun's disobedience; but he intimated that his actions were in keeping with the duties of a commanding general, who knew that part of his troops would shortly have to leave. In order to facilitate the further withdrawal of the troops to positions "stronger and easier to hold," he would also evacuate the provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa on the Pacific, and the important ports of Guaymas and Mazatlán on that coast; later on, when the enemy had been "tired out or weakened," they would be able to reconquer the places evacuated!

This letter must have completely enlightened Maximilian as to what he had to expect from Bazaine. But this was not all. On August 8 the Emperor learnt of the defeat of the Austrians at Königgrätz. Barandiaran described the panic at the Court of Vienna, and Eloin even alleged in his reports that the archdukes contemplated placing their palaces under the protection of the Mexican flag, in order to save them from the Prussians. This was naturally untrue, but it was significant that such an idea could arise. After a conversation with "De Pont, who was utterly demoralized," Eloin also reported that the latter had recalled the prophetic words which Maximilian had spoken about the destiny of Austria on leaving Miramar, and that in

[161] Bazaine to the Emperor Maximilian, Peotillos, August 10, 1866. V. N. A.
[162] The same to the same, Peotillos, August 12, 1866. V. N. A. Printed in Gaulot, op. cit., II. 359.

the interest of the Fatherland everybody regretted that "our Max" was so far away.[163] All that is certain is that immediately after the battle of Königgrätz, as the Emperor Francis Joseph was driving from the Hofburg to Schönbrunn, the chilly silence of the crowd was suddenly broken by the cry: "Long live Maximilian!" [164]

The news of the Austrian defeat did not fail to produce the deepest impression throughout the whole of Mexico, and especially in the Austrian Legion, and was naturally also damaging to the prestige of Maximilian. Though he had never been altogether in touch with events in Vienna, and was, moreover, himself alienated, he forgot his grievances for a moment in the presence of his country's great disaster; for he had not expected that misfortune would come so soon. "I had indeed foreseen the whole catastrophe," he wrote at the time,[165] "for I was behind the scenes long enough. But I had never imagined that developments would be so sudden. I expected the results, since I knew the causes, but I had hoped for more dignity and a little more ability." But not all his sympathy with his country's misfortune could induce him to reconsider his attitude in the matter of the Family Pact; he attached far too much importance to having it ultimately annulled.

It was some little relief when, on August 15, the first electric cable between America and Europe was made available, which made it possible to obtain information from Europe within a few days, whereas previously all news had taken four weeks or more to arrive. Maximilian first used the cable, the laying of which had been arranged by the French Government, to send Napoleon his congratulations by means of this "greatest triumph of science."

But Maximilian found no peace. On all sides fresh worries assailed him. The Iturbide family, living on their pension in Paris, had kept a watchful eye upon the destiny of the Empire at home. It had naturally not escaped their notice that the

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[163] Eloin to the Emperor Maximilian, Vienna, July 12, 1866. V. N. A.

[164] Beust: *Aus drei Vierteljahrhunderten*, II. 247.

[165] The Emperor Maximilian to the Baroness Emilie Binzer, *née* Gehrschau, Chapultepec, August 15, 1866. V. N. A.

Mexican Empire had been to all intents and purposes abandoned by France, and the mother of little Agustin Iturbide, who was living with Maximilian, began to be anxious about her son's fate. Regardless of the stipulations of the agreement concluded between the Emperor and her relatives, she began to petition urgently that her son should be restored to her.[166] The Emperor recognized that this request was due to lack of confidence in his future, and answered that he would readily consent to the mother's coming to Mexico on a visit to her son, but warned her that she must not ruin the fine future in store for him. But Alice de Iturbide, who was an American citizen, had already applied to Washington with the request that efforts should be made to obtain the restitution of her child. In the prevailing state of mind in the United States the whole episode was naturally exploited to the full against Maximilian.

Meanwhile, on August 25, Bazaine had returned to Mexico City. The situation had changed very much for the worse; the whole of the north was gradually being lost; apart from the Juarista bands, American filibusters from Texas and California were making raids into the very heart of Mexico. Nor were things going better in the south. There were even a number of bands forming in the region of Vera Cruz, who had already attacked Jalapa, though without success; and so a ring was gradually forming, which kept drawing closer to the capital, but was still kept at a distance from it by the French troops. Wherever the Juaristas appeared, they took the severest measures against the Emperor's adherents; they killed all those who fell into their hands, and confiscated the property of those whose persons they could not seize.

A moment's joy was afforded to Maximilian by the victory of Lissa, in which he could claim to have rendered some service personally, for the officers and men who had borne themselves so excellently in the face of the enemy had been trained under his own direction. But the necessities of the moment at once exerted their sway over him. Maximilian was always thinking out new plans for once more attaching France to his

[166] Alice de Iturbide to the Emperor Maximilian, Paris, July 13 and again on August 20, 1866. V. N. A.

destiny. This time he had a fresh material inducement to offer. Negotiations were proceeding about the projected canal and railway across the isthmus of Tehuantepec. Juarez had previously granted the concession for them to an American company in Louisiana, whose rights were beyond dispute; but this isthmian region of six million acres, worth forty million francs, awaited colonization. Maximilian wrote to Napoleon [167] that he would grant lands on the same conditions to Frenchmen instead of Americans, hoping thus to interest France in his Empire and Government again.

While the Emperor was occupied with these far-reaching ideas, his nearest supports began to give way. General Count Thun and his general staff sent in their resignations. They knew the Emperor's critical position and financial necessities; they were impressed by the Austrian defeat, and forgot that it was their duty to stand and fall with their Emperor, whatever might happen. Thun in particular had never had any confidence in the stability of the Empire. On one occasion, when he had invited Count Rességuier to one of the splendid dinners for which he was noted, his guest asked him why he had brought such simple table appointments from home, and no fine silver. The general answered: "Silver here? Why, everything is much too insecure!" The general was not the man to sacrifice himself in support of his Emperor. He obtained his discharge, and the example of their commanding officer subsequently induced a number of his subordinates to do the same, thus offering the world a somewhat inglorious exhibition.

France continued to urge her financial claims. Count Germiny, the president of the Mexican financial commission in Paris, had appealed [168] direct to the Emperor for the payment of 20,000,000 francs of arrears. But Maximilian was forced to reply [169] that payment was impossible, for he had already been deprived of half the revenue from the customs-houses.

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[167] The Emperor Maximilian to Napoleon III, Palace of Mexico, August 28, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

[168] Count Germiny to the Emperor Maximilian, July 14, 1866.

[169] The Emperor Maximilian to Count Germiny, Mexico, August 28, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

Nor had any progress been made in Rome. Father Fischer recognized that the concordat could not be concluded, and his long reports to the Emperor had recently become more and more laboured. He now saw that if he wanted to retain Maximilian's confidence, he must return home with some sort of success, if only an apparent one. He therefore made an agreement in Rome that the Mexican bishops and prelates were to hold an assembly in the capital, and examine the draft concordats which had so far been drawn up, and in case of need draw one up themselves. It is true that the attitude of the Mexican clergy up till now ought to have made it clear what the outcome of such an assembly would be, but this solution facilitated Fischer's return, and he was able by his reports and afterwards by his eloquence to persuade the Emperor that he had achieved a certain success. His stay in Rome was at an end, and he suddenly resolved to return in a hurry. He wrote to Maximilian from Paris: " It is true that I bring Your Majesty no concordat, but I bring such proposals on the part of the Holy Father as will in my opinion lead to a speedy and propitious end." [170]

Secretly, however, he was nervous lest Maximilian might disapprove of his unexpected decision to return, and see through his manœuvres. He started home by way of Paris, where, according to his own subsequent statement,[171] he saw clearly that Napoleon had entirely thrown Maximilian over, and that unspeakable dangers were in store for Mexico. But this time, when in Washington, he gained the false impression that President Johnson would not be disinclined " to make his influence felt in favour of a peaceful settlement of Mexican affairs."

Count Rességuier too, who had been summoned by the Emperor to Mexico " most urgently," in view of the critical state of affairs,[172] sent none but good reports from on board ship, and expressed the opinion that the United States Government

[170] Father Fischer to the Emperor Maximilian, Paris, July 1, 1866. V. N. A.

[171] Autograph report of Father Fischer to Baron Beust, written after Maximilian's death, undated. V. N. A.

[172] The Emperor Maximilian to Count Rességuier, August 8, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

had ceased to attach any importance to the Mexican question, since the election campaign had thrust everything into the background. "If," he summed up, "we consider the situation at the moment, we are bound to arrive at the conclusion that, owing to internal conditions, they will be powerless as regards the outer world for at least two or three years." [173]

These accounts were inaccurate. Both the Government and the people of the United States continued to be hostile to Maximilian's enterprise, but the signs of this feeling had been less prominent lately, because it was generally believed that Maximilian would shortly fall of his own accord, without further interference.

When Father Fischer arrived in Mexico, he found the Emperor still full of hope that Napoleon would continue to support him, and that the Empress's mission would have a good result. Within a very short time he succeeded in worming himself into the Emperor's confidence to such an extent that all his other advisers were gradually forced into the background. Father Fischer understood not only how to flatter him, but how to turn his head by clever speeches. The priest saw Maximilian's secret wish to maintain his position, and, basing himself upon this, he set forth his plan for enabling the Emperor, even when deserted by the French, to maintain himself by his own resources. This illusion won over the Emperor and flattered his vanity, so that Father Fischer's task was easy. His position was plain to all when he was appointed secretary of the Emperor's cabinet in the place of Eloin. In a little while he was all-powerful in Mexico, and the period of his influence over the Emperor, which was to prove so momentous, had begun.

And now the Empress's first brief report on the outcome of her mission arrived by cable.

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[173] Count Rességuier to the Emperor Maximilian, from on board the steamer *Tampico*, September 8, 1866. V. N. A.

CHAPTER X

THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE'S VOYAGE TO EUROPE AND ITS OUTCOME

Napoleon III's political situation — His illness and weakness — The rise of Prussia — Napoleon's territorial desires — Effect of the news of Königgrätz in Paris — The Empress Eugénie's influence on the wane — Peace or war — Arrival of the Empress Charlotte — Napoleon "not at home" — Interview between Charlotte and Eugénie — Charlotte's first visit to the Emperor and Empress — Its dramatic character — The orangeade — The Empress hopes against hope — Fould, Randon, Drouyn de Lhuys, and Metternich — Second visit to St. Cloud — The Ministerial Council — Maximilian and Charlotte finally thrown over — Charlotte's reports and letters to her husband — Napoleon breaks with the Empress — Excited explanation between them — Not another sou and not another soldier — The Empress Charlotte's agitation — Her departure for Miramar — Reminiscences on the Lake of Como — Triumphal journey to Rome — The Pope her last hope — Her cruel disappointment — Outbreak of persecution mania — A night at the Vatican — Her fear of poison — The Empress's will — Return to Miramar — Hopeless mental derangement — Maximilian hopes and waits.

THE MEXICAN EMPEROR AND EMPRESS WERE ILL-INFORMED about the progress of matters in Europe. Hidalgo had sent no word of the change in Paris, Loysel had been merely Napoleon's mouthpiece, and only Eloin had sent true and honest information. As a matter of fact, changes had taken place which had given a new character to the Second Empire both at home and abroad. So long as Napoleon III could point to nothing but successes in foreign policy, he was able to hold down the forces of opposition within the country. But now that he had no more dazzling successes to point to, but only humiliations, when the aggressive demeanour of Prussia and the troubles in Italy began to cloud the political firmament, the internal peace of France was also threatened.

Serious differences of opinion on internal policy prevailed even in the imperial family, and Prince Napoleon had come out in open opposition to his cousin's policy in a speech glorifying Napoleon I and liberty. Moreover, the municipal elections of 1865 resulted in gains to the opposition throughout the whole country. The optimistic speech from the throne of January 12, 1866, with its glorification of the existing state of affairs, was not calculated to appease those thirsting for greater liberty. The party led by Thiers continued to grow, and with it the opposition in the Chamber.

While difficulties were accumulating on all sides, the Emperor's powers of resistance had become seriously impaired. He possessed little of that elasticity which had characterized his great uncle, enabling him to display the boundless efficiency of genius even during times of great stress. Napoleon III was weary; he complained that "this everlasting load of work" was killing him. The bad state of his health was responsible for this. The ills to which he was ultimately to succumb were already making themselves felt. The Emperor's incessant love-affairs wasted his strength. His nervous excitability, fatigue, and physical indisposition made it hard for him to judge affairs clearly.

The Empress herself complained to Metternich[1] that her

[1] Prince Metternich to Count Mensdorff, July 26, 1866. V. N. A.

consort had fallen into a state of utter dejection for the last two years, that he no longer cared about the business of government, and was devoting all his remaining strength to his *Julius Cæsar*. He was not even capable of presiding at the Ministerial Council. He could hardly walk or eat, and was quite unable to sleep.

It was no wonder that Napoleon was overshadowed when a great statesman arose, Otto von Bismarck. The latter visited Napoleon at Biarritz in October 1865, when he laid the foundations of his policy, which was to induce the Emperor by vague and obscure promises to maintain neutrality in the decisive struggle between Prussia and Austria for the hegemony of Germany which Bismarck saw to be necessary. Napoleon at first looked upon such a war as an unhoped-for piece of luck, in which he would look on as the disinterested third party and chuckle over the dispute: Bismarck's cleverly calculated, tempting allusions to Belgium, Luxemburg, etc., called up before him an imaginary picture of rich countries which would fall to him without a blow.

The events which followed, the war with Denmark, the Schleswig-Holstein question, all these lightning flashes presaging the storm, engaged his most anxious attention. He was entirely distracted from the Mexican question, which had been nothing but a disappointment and brought him into growing conflict with public opinion in France.

He had long made up his mind to withdraw from Mexican affairs as soon as possible. The Mexican exiles in Paris had lost all their influence. And so it was no wonder that a bombastic appeal addressed to Napoleon by old Gutierrez, imploring him not to leave Mexico in the lurch, not to reduce it once more to nullity and leave it even unhappier, more seriously menaced and more irrevocably lost than in 1861, remained entirely without effect. In vain Gutierrez vowed to Napoleon that his genius might save them, and expressed the hope that in face of a nation doomed to death God would inspire him.[2] Napoleon

[2] Gutierrez to Napoleon III, June 21, 1866. V. N. A.

had never liked the Mexican much and now no longer listened to him.

What is more, the Empress too had abandoned the Mexican enterprise, for she was conscious that her former enthusiasm for that country had brought about a situation which, in view of the storm gathering in Europe, gave occasion for serious misgivings. In this respect she showed more foresight than her consort. In the affairs of distant Mexico she had, it is true, been unable to form an independent judgment, and had had to depend upon other persons' misleading representations; but here in Europe, where she was on the spot, she diagnosed the situation correctly. She felt instinctively that a master hand was making itself felt in Prussia; that a foe was arising there whom they could not oppose too soon, if they were to check his menacing development. Whereas the Emperor had reckoned on an Austrian victory over Prussia, the Empress Eugénie had thought differently. She was convinced that France must come to the assistance of Austria against Prussia, in order to prevent the victory of the latter, which would then turn on the French Empire with fresh laurels and new strength.

In this she agreed with Thiers, who on May 3, 1866, in a great speech to the Corps Législatif, emphasized the dangers of that German unity for which Bismarck was striving. His advice, too, was to declare categorically to Prussia that France would never tolerate such a policy, aimed at her peace and welfare. Napoleon had for a time advocated summoning a European congress, at which he intended to play the part of arbiter, thus acquiring not only territorial gains, but also increased prestige. But in vain! The guidance of affairs was slipping out of his hands, and he was powerless to prevent Italy from taking part in the war.

The rupture between Austria and Prussia had meanwhile taken place. On June 17 and 18 the two sovereigns declared war, on June 22 Prussian troops crossed the Austrian frontier, and on July 3 took place the crushing defeat of Königgrätz, in which, in spite of their desperate valour, the Austrian army succumbed to the annihilating effects of the needle-gun and the



THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE OF MEXICO

superior leadership of Moltke. Consternation prevailed in Paris. When Marshal Randon heard the news, he exclaimed: "It is we who have been defeated at Sadowa."

The decisive victory of Prussia was an unpleasant surprise to Napoleon III. It fell upon him while he was looking forward with pride and hope to acting as arbiter of Europe. His factitious animation disappeared at a single blow, giving way to the deepest depression and utter physical and moral collapse. Those about him endeavoured to rally his spirits and induce him to come to a decision. The war party, to which belonged the Empress and Drouyn de Lhuys, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, attempted to win him over; Randon did not advise against it, but Prince Napoleon, Lavalette, and Rouher did all they could to persuade the Emperor to peaceful courses. Exhausted and languid as he was, the Emperor, after long hesitation, decided upon a policy of inactivity.

But other factors contributed towards a peaceful solution, among them a consideration closely connected with the Mexican question. The Emperor had followed the Empress's advice unreservedly in this matter, thus becoming involved in a thorny and adventurous path, and in sacrifices of both money and lives, without the reward of victory. This failure had been a severe blow to Napoleon's confidence in his consort's political foresight. Once more she counselled war and action, but Napoleon did not intend to let himself be driven for the second time into a possibly even more hazardous adventure.

Fate would have it that at this time, when from the French point of view the Empress's advice was right — for the danger that Prussia with her newly-won strength might force France as well as Austria to her knees might still have been averted by immediate intervention — Napoleon was no longer ready to follow his wife, because she had been mistaken about Mexico.

The Empress was accustomed to being listened to by her husband, and was filled with consternation by his refusal. She ascribed it to his physical condition, and even proposed to him that he should abdicate, and entrust the regency to her. But she was now to learn beyond a doubt that Napoleon no longer

trusted her as he had done before. "My dear Prince," she wrote despairingly to Metternich on July 11, 1866, "what is to be done? I have done all that is humanly possible, but I am answered by arguments as to the appalling responsibility resting upon him who makes the decision; we are not prepared and do not want to plunge into risks, for we have nothing to back up a demonstration; my word has no further weight, I am almost alone in my views, the dangers of today are exaggerated in order to conceal those of tomorrow . . . but I can do no more and do not even know what is going on now." [3]

"I assure you," she told Metternich a little later,[4] "that we are going to our ruin, and that it would be best if the Emperor were suddenly to disappear, for a time at least." In spite of all the opposition with which she met, Eugénie was far from giving up the struggle; she wanted to send the Emperor to the camp of Châlons, so that he might gain energy and strength from the sight of it. But the Emperor would no longer agree to anything that came from the Empress; Mexico remained a warning memory.

The struggle between the two parties did not end with the decision of July 5. The Empress and Drouyn de Lhuys continued to harass Napoleon, who now, in spite of Königgrätz, attempted, by asserting the weight of France, to make sure, at least in part, of those territorial gains for which he had hoped on the left bank of the Rhine, in Belgium or Luxemburg, and which Bismarck had prudently dangled before him by word of mouth only, but never in writing. Bismarck saw how matters lay, and, unwilling to concede France an extension of territory, he hastened to conclude an armistice and peace with Austria, for not only France, but Russia too was beginning to stir. The Italian Government hastily attempted to wipe out the defeat at Custozza by a success at sea immediately before the close of the war. Admiral Persano was intended to achieve this; instead of which he suffered a severe defeat from the fleet once

[3] Letter of the Empress Eugénie to Prince Metternich, July 11, 1866, communicated to Vienna on the same day, according to his dispatch. V. N. A.

[4] Prince Metternich to Count Mensdorff, July 26, 1866. V. N. A.

commanded by the Archduke Ferdinand Max. As if to symbolize this, the Austrian flagship, the *Ferdinand Max,* sank the Italian ironclad, the *Re d'Italia.* Six days later, the preliminaries of peace were signed at Nikolsburg.

In view of the dangers threatening from both east and west, Bismarck had found it a difficult matter to force his King and his generals to treat Austria with consideration; this could be done only by the speedy conclusion of peace, which was necessary if he was to be able to meet Napoleon's demands with due firmness. But now Bismarck had a free hand. On the very same day, Benedetti called upon the Prussian statesman, and stated Napoleon's desire for compensation on the left bank of the Rhine in return for his consent to the aggrandizement of Prussia in Germany. Bismarck evaded the point. But when on August 5 Benedetti went on to propose for his acceptance the draft of a secret treaty in which Saarbrücken, Saarlouis, the Bavarian Palatinate, the portion of Hesse on the left of the Rhine, and Mainz were to be ceded to him, Bismarck flatly refused. His hands were strengthened by the victorious Prussian army, which stood ready for action, whereas France would first have had to mobilize. The German statesman openly threatened war; if France insisted on her claims, she would have war within a fortnight.

When Benedetti returned to Paris, he heard that the Prussian General von Manteuffel had been sent to St. Petersburg. This could only point to negotiations in the event of a war with France. The reports of the French Minister in Berlin bore witness to his grave doubts of the possibility of carrying Napoleon's wishes into effect.

The Emperor of the French was in dire distress, constantly wavering between the peace party and the war party. Besides this, he was suffering considerable pain from his illnesses. He shrank from war, and still hoped to be able to obtain his claims without venturing upon it. As he lay in bed at St. Cloud, he anxiously awaited Benedetti's return.

It was during these days of suspense that the news of the Empress Charlotte's arrival in Europe was suddenly heard. The rumour of her voyage had already reached Paris by way

of North America, but it was officially contradicted in the *Moniteur,* and the report met with no credit.[5]

The Empress had arrived at the French port of Saint-Nazaire after a prosperous voyage, during which she had appeared for the most part grave and absorbed, though at times gloomy and nervous. It was not till then that she received the first news of the outbreak and result of the war between Prussia and Austria, as well as the very welcome news of the communication by cable with the American continent which had recently been established. The news of Königgrätz was a shock to her; she felt instinctively that the humiliation of Austria would seriously affect the Emperor Napoleon's treatment of everything connected with Austria, and that his own troubles would make him doubly unwilling to assume fresh burdens on behalf of Mexico. But she had now arrived and was firmly resolved to do everything to carry her wishes into effect.

The first to visit the steamer and greet the Empress were Almonte and his wife, who, hearing that the Empress was on her way to Europe, had come to meet the next steamer due at Saint-Nazaire. The news of Charlotte's arrival spread like wildfire through the town, which had grown considerably in importance since the expedition to Mexico. A great crowd assembled on the quay and the mayor appeared, " in his official scarf," to welcome the Empress. But she stayed there only long enough to telegraph the news of her arrival to her brother at Brussels, the Archduchess Sophie, and the Emperor Napoleon. She informed the two first that she was unfortunately unable to visit them owing to the attitude of their Governments. This was an open insult to both courts and made the most painful impression, especially in Vienna.

Her telegram to the Emperor Napoleon ran as follows:[6] " I have today arrived at Saint-Nazaire, charged by the Emperor with the mission of discussing with Your Majesty various matters concerning Mexico. I beg you to assure Her Maj-

[5] The account which follows is based in many points on the autograph report written by the Empress Charlotte to the Emperor Maximilian from the Grand Hotel, Paris, on August 15, 1866; original in V. N. A.

[6] Copy in V. N. A.

esty of my friendship and to believe what a pleasure it will be to me to see Your Majesties again. Charlotte."

After dispatching her telegrams and receiving the most cordial welcome from the populace of Saint-Nazaire, the Empress continued her journey to Nantes, which she described as one of those French towns which had grown rich by importing the products of Mexico's neighbours the Antilles. The prefect of the department of Loire-Inférieure was at the station at Nantes and handed the Empress Napoleon's reply to her telegram. The Emperor of the French had been painfully affected by the unexpected news. He was still weighed down by grave anxieties and agitations, faced with a difficult decision between the war and peace parties, and racked by physical pain, and now this fresh embarrassment presented itself. But the Empress was already there. What was to be done? In the attempt to postpone as long as possible a painful and unpleasant task, he decided that the best thing would be to propose that she should first go to her brother in Brussels. It was all-important to gain time, and he might also allege his ill health.

Accordingly his answer ran as follows: "I have just received Your Majesty's telegram. I have returned from Vichy ill and am forced to stay in bed, so that I am not in a position to come to meet you. If, as I suppose, Your Majesty is going first to Belgium, you will give me time to recover. Napoleon."[7]

This way of saying that he was "not at home," and the brusque attempt to turn her aside to Belgium first, showed the Empress plainly what an unpleasant surprise her arrival had been to the Emperor. Regardless of his suggestion, and firmly resolved to see him as soon as possible at all costs, she immediately resumed her journey to Paris on August 9, being respectfully welcomed by the prefects of all the departments through which she travelled.

When she arrived in the capital, at four o'clock in the afternoon, it so happened that the Emperor's aide-de-camp and orderly officers were waiting for her at the wrong station, with the court carriages placed at her disposal. None but the

[7] Napoleon III to the Empress Charlotte, St. Cloud, August 5, 1866, 4.40 p.m.; copy in V. N. A.

Mexicans, to whom Almonte had sent word, were at the right place; among them Gutierrez and his son, Duran, the Minister in London; and young Salvador Iturbide. Hidalgo was naturally not present; he was keeping away from Paris and travelling on the Rhine. The Empress drove to the Grand Hotel in a hired carriage, secretly troubled lest this misunderstanding signified an intentional attempt to avoid receiving her at the station. She had hardly arrived when Napoleon's emissaries, who had meanwhile grasped the situation, came hurrying up in consternation with profuse apologies. By Eugénie's command the chief aide-de-camp, General Waubert de Genlis, inquired at what time the Empress Charlotte would like to receive her on the following day, and whether she intended to stay many days in Paris. The Empress Eugénie was prepared to relieve her consort of the painful duty of the visit, but could not restrain herself from at once asking, with ill-concealed curiosity, how long the Empress would stay. The Empress Charlotte answered that she would be pleased to receive Eugénie at whatever time was convenient to her; for the rest, she was thinking of staying in Paris, since she "had no family or other interests in Europe which were not bound up with others." The officers bowed, and returned without a word to St. Cloud to report her answer.

On August 10 Charlotte hastened betimes to make all things ready to give the Empress a suitable reception, and, as she said, "at the same time to give a favourable impression of the good breeding of the Court of Mexico." Count Cossé-Brissac now called upon Charlotte's chief gentleman-in-waiting, Del Valle, to announce that the Empress Eugénie would be coming from St. Cloud at two o'clock in the afternoon. In order to profit as much as possible by the interval, the Empress Charlotte sent for General Frossard, who had been one of the first to sign the visitors' book. She reminded him of the Convention of Miramar, described the situation at the moment, and left him in no doubt that France could not abandon the Mexican Empire without dishonouring her flag and bringing destruction upon her subjects in Mexico.

She next gave him the memorandum drawn up by Pierron

to read — for the Emperor had given it to her on departure — and showed him the map of Mexico appended to it, upon which the military progress of the Juaristas was marked with alarming clearness. In the memorandum [8] was an attack upon the last note received from the French Government, in answer to Almonte's *démarche*. The note, said the memorandum, had asserted that Maximilian had not fully carried out the Convention of Miramar! But how was this to be done, if the fundamental conditions which it presupposed — namely, the complete pacification of the country — had not been realized? How were all financial claims to be satisfied, when only one of all the customs-houses, that of Vera Cruz, was still productive, while the others were either in the hands of the enemy, or else yielded nothing? They had certainly wanted to maintain and pay the expeditionary force, but that was impossible if they held only a half or a third of the country, while Bazaine's methods of waging war — he had, for instance, evacuated and reoccupied one place fourteen times — involved appalling expenditure upon transport. From the very first Maximilian had found the finances in utter confusion, and they had always been administered by Frenchmen, from Corta and Bonnefonds to Langlais, till, after Langlais's death, Napoleon had refused to send the successor for whom they had asked. Maximilian had been reproached with not having based himself upon a particular political party, yet he had merely followed out the liberal tendencies advocated by the French generals in accordance with Napoleon's views. It was now impossible to induce Bazaine to undertake any further active measures. Now was the time to organize an army, yet at that very moment the subsidies for this purpose were withdrawn! So far it had been Bazaine alone who had obstructed army organization, which could be achieved only if the payment of the subsidies were continued up to the end of 1867.

The whole memorandum was a violent indictment of Bazaine and all his actions. But in general he had done no more than carry out his Emperor's orders like an obedient soldier; Napoleon was well aware of this, though Maximilian was not,

[8] Copy in V. N. A.; printed in full by Détroyat, op. cit., p. 263.

so Napoleon was bound to apply all these accusations to himself. The contents of this document, which was communicated to him by Frossard, were not calculated to facilitate Charlotte's task with the Emperor and Empress of the French.

On August 10, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the Empress Eugénie drove up to the Grand Hotel, with a grave expression, but charming, and, in spite of all her anxieties, in perfect health. It was a year since she had given up the Mexican expedition for lost. But now she had got to face the wife of the man whom she was abandoning, and come out in her true colours. The Empress arrived accompanied by the Countess of Montebello, Princess of Essling — a grand-daughter of Napoleon I's brave marshal, who had fallen in the battle of Aspern — and her childhood's friend, Madame Carette, *née* Bouvet. She was attended by the chief aide-de-camp, Waubert de Genlis, and the chamberlain Count Cossé-Brissac, as gentlemen-in-waiting. At the bottom of the main staircase Charlotte's chief gentlemen-in-waiting, Del Valle and Count Bombelles, and her lady-in-waiting, Señora del Barrio, awaited the Empress of the French. Castillo, the minister, had remained upstairs with the Empress Charlotte, to emphasize his dignity as a member of the Mexican Government. The Empress advanced to meet her august guest, and welcomed her on the first step of the staircase with an embrace and kiss. Innumerable persons were witnesses of this scene. Eugénie was then conducted into Charlotte's salon, where the two Empresses remained alone. Charlotte now described in agitated language the difficult situation of herself and her husband in Mexico, tried to appeal to Eugénie on her weak side — her preference for some of the Mexicans resident in Paris — and once more read her the moving appeal addressed by Gutierrez to the Emperor Napoleon. The Empress of the French did not weep, but she showed such emotion that Charlotte, as she reported to her husband, had the impression that " tears were rising in her heart." Eugénie said but little, and listened to her unfortunate sister with the greatest sympathy. The graver anxieties having been mentioned, Eugénie passed briskly to more indifferent subjects, and mentioned her " interest in Mexico, which was as lively as

ever." She desired particularly to know how the Emperor was, and took an interest in all the details of the court ceremonial in Mexico — for instance, their evening parties and entertainments — and also in the situation and condition of the imperial villa at Cuernavaca. In her replies the Empress Charlotte endeavoured to give none but the "grandest views" of everything in Mexico. But at last she returned to the leading theme and took pains to explain clearly to Eugénie that, though Prussia had arisen to disturb the balance of Europe, France's work in the New World was far from complete, and that it was easier and quicker to descend the steps leading to glory than to ascend them. But the Empress Eugénie persisted in her tactics of evading serious questions. The icy tone which had prevailed at first had indeed thawed a little in the course of the interview. At last Charlotte asked when she might return the call. "The day after tomorrow," replied Eugénie, "if Your Majesty so wishes."

"And the Emperor?" asked Charlotte. "Shall I not be able to see him too?"

"Oh, the Emperor is still unwell," said Eugénie evasively.

Charlotte was afraid that Napoleon would go off to Châlons, so that she would not see him, and therefore asked Eugénie to fix the next day for returning the visit, adding that she would insist with all her might on seeing the Emperor without fail. "For otherwise," she threatened, "I should break in (*je ferais irruption*)."

Somewhat taken aback and embarrassed, Eugénie took leave of the Empress of Mexico, who again accompanied her back to the staircase. Charlotte returned to her apartments pensively, her cheeks red with excitement. Not till this interview had she formed a true idea of how lightly the woman who had just left her had set the Mexican adventure in motion.

"What struck me," wrote Charlotte to her husband immediately afterwards, "was that I know more about China than these people here know about Mexico, where they have ventured upon one of the greatest enterprises in which the French flag has ever been involved. I thought I noticed that the Empress has lost much of her youth and strength since

I last saw her, and that, amid all their greatness, any sort of pressure, real or imaginary, is irksome to Napoleon and his wife, and that they cannot endure it any longer. The throne of France soon ages those who sit upon it, but history teaches that this warlike nation, like the goddess of fortune, smiles only upon the young — "

The Empress Eugénie returned to St. Cloud full of misgivings. The chief object which she had intended to achieve by her visit, that Charlotte should give up the idea of a personal interview with Napoleon, had failed, and she must now tell her husband so. This was all the more disagreeable to her since Benedetti, the French Minister at the Prussian Court, had just arrived in Paris, on August 10. He reported to his sovereign Bismarck's serious intention of going to war in the event of his persisting in his demands, and presented the Emperor with the grave alternative of drawing the sword against a victorious and easily mobilized army, all unequipped and unprepared as he was, or else giving up the territorial compensations for which he had longed. It was most inopportune for the Empress Eugénie, who was working in favour of an active policy, that Charlotte's arrival should remind Napoleon of the Mexican enterprise, by which Eugénie felt herself to be compromised. But what was she to do? The Empress Charlotte had announced so unambiguously and energetically her determination of speaking with the Emperor at all costs, even if she had to force her way into his room, that it was quite likely that she would carry out her threats and "break in." And so August 10 passed by in the château of St. Cloud in indescribable agitation and nervousness, amid the coming and going of diplomatists and generals, and wavering decisions, in which no finality could be arrived at.

On the following day, August 11, 1866, at midday, a carriage from the imperial stables came to fetch Charlotte from the Grand Hotel and drive her to St. Cloud. The Empress drove in the first carriage with Almonte's wife, and Del Valle followed in the second with Señora del Barrio.

When the Empress's tall figure appeared on the threshold of the hotel, dressed in a long, black silk dress, still a little

crumpled from the voyage, and a large white hat which she had just bought in Paris, and prepared to step into the carriage, she was welcomed by a large crowd. The cheers continued all the way; the Empress, who had heard of nothing but the dislike of the French people for Mexico, was pleasantly impressed by this, and began to feel that all would go well for her and her husband at this decisive moment. In spite of the heat, the Empress had thrown on a black lace mantilla, which she kept fingering nervously. She was filled with anguish and agitation at this fateful moment, the blood rushed to her head, her colour came and went, trembling and nervous she clung to the arm of her companion and pressed it to her as if seeking for aid. Señora Almonte was full of sympathy and attempted to calm her. But this state of agitation did not last long. By the time the carriage entered the park and passed the palace guard, who greeted her with a roll of drums, she had regained her composure. She saluted the national standard floating over the palace with a graceful bow.

The carriage stopped at the foot of the staircase leading to the private apartments.[9] A detachment of the Imperial Guard, imposing figures in their historic bearskins, had been told off as a guard of honour. The whole of the imperial household was assembled at the foot of the staircase. The little Prince Imperial, then ten years old, hurried to the carriage door with the chain of the Mexican order of the Eagle round his neck, and took the Empress by the hand to lead her up the staircase, which was lined on either side by a row of the martial "*Cent gardes,*" Napoleon's body-guard. The Empress Eugénie was waiting for her at the head of the staircase and conducted her to the Emperor's private study, where the three exalted personages remained closeted together.

The Empress Charlotte opened the interview by saying: "Sir, I have come to save a cause which is your own." At the same time she handed him her consort's letter,[10] which

[9] See also Count Fleury: *Memoiren der Kaiserin Eugénie* (German ed., II. 113).
[10] The Emperor Maximilian to Napoleon III, July 8, 1866; draft in V. N. A. This visit of the Empress Charlotte is also largely described from the Empress's autograph report to the Emperor Maximilian, dated August 15, 1866.

contained nothing but the announcement that the Empress was bringing with her the answer to the French memorandum of May 31, so that the Emperor might have just grounds for his judgment. Charlotte laid the memorandum before him, with the rest of the documents she had brought with her, especially the detailed financial statements. The Empress's demands culminated in the recall of Marshal Bazaine, an extension of the subsidy to pay the auxiliary troops, and lastly the continuance of the expeditionary force in the country until the provinces threatened by the Juaristas had been entirely pacified. She implored the Emperor not to abandon a cause so closely bound up with his dynastic interests, and drew an eloquent and moving picture of her consort's position. She appealed to the Emperor's sense of justice and honour, referred pathetically to the promises he had made, and defended her cause with such ardour and conviction that, though the French Emperor and Empress were firmly resolved to have done with Mexico, they were stirred to the depths and remained silent. The Emperor Napoleon's sickly and exhausted state produced a sad impression. He looked at his wife in utter helplessness, like one who sees that he is lost, but does not know what to do.[11] Tears ran down his cheeks. At last he collected himself and assured the Empress that it did not depend upon his will, but that he was unable to do anything.

"So that," thought Charlotte, as she gazed at Napoleon, "is what accounts for the great power of the French ministers." She excitedly reminded him of the vast strength of a nation of forty millions, which was supreme in Europe, disposed of enormous capital, enjoyed the highest credit in the world, and always had victorious armies at command. In such conditions it was quite unjustifiable to say that nothing could be done for the Mexican Empire, especially in view of the important interests which France had to protect there.

[11] The Empress Charlotte wrote: "'Helpless' *según se diría en inglés, en castellano alguno, que no se sabe ayudar; que sabe que se pierde pero no sabe como hacer. Este estado lo tomo por natural y no por fingido* ('Helpless,' as would be said in English; in Spanish one who does not know how to help himself, who knows that he is being ruined, but does not know how to act. I consider that this condition was natural and not put on.)"

In the midst of this impassioned conversation between these exalted personages, the door suddenly opened, and a footman appeared bearing a silver tray, with a cut-glass decanter full of orangeade. It had been sent in by Madame Carette, the lady-in-waiting,[12] who had been in the antechamber with the Mexican suite during this conversation, which had already lasted an hour and a half, and heard that in very hot weather the Empress Charlotte was accustomed to having some such refreshment brought her. The Empress Eugénie was surprised at the unexpected interruption, and made a gesture of embarrassment, but at last offered the Empress Charlotte a glass with her own hand. Charlotte looked rather taken aback by the whole proceeding. She several times declined to drink anything, and seemed to consider anything of the sort unsuitable during such a serious interview. At last, after much pressing, she let herself be persuaded to drink.

After this interruption they resumed their deliberations, and Charlotte declared that she now saw where the difficulties lay, and would undertake to remove them all; she would speak personally to all the ministers behind whom Napoleon had continued to shelter himself, and talk them round. The Emperor also promised to consult his ministers once more before giving his irrevocable decision. Charlotte left the Emperor and Empress not without some rays of hope. Yet her exaggerated expectations had been disappointed; the Emperor had evaded her requests, and she now set all her hopes upon the efficacy of her explanations with the ministers. In spite of this, she intended to " work and work," in order at least to set her conscience at rest by " fulfilling her duty in every respect, so long as any possibility offered itself."

But the agitation through which she had passed, and the thought of her husband, who, owing to her, had remained behind in Mexico among a thousand dangers, was too much for her strength. On the way home she sank back, exhausted, pale, and languid, against the cushions of the carriage. She restrained her tears with difficulty. It was an abrupt change for the young Empress, who had hitherto been full of illusions.

[12] Madame Carette, *née* Bouvet: *Souvenirs intimes de la cour des Tuileries*, p. 272.

The first person with whom she discussed matters after her audience was the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Drouyn de Lhuys. He showed himself very accommodating during the interview, and listened most attentively to Charlotte's explanations, so that in her report to Maximilian she was able to announce that she had convinced him on every point. The unhappy princess did not know that Drouyn de Lhuys had already his resignation in his pocket, ready to hand it to his sovereign on August 12, since he was not in agreement with his peace policy.

On August 12 Prince Metternich also discussed matters with the Empress Charlotte. He admired the virile tenacity of her character, but he also understood affairs in Paris better than anybody. He was convinced that all the energy with which she attempted to arrest the collapse of the Mexican Empire would be wasted.[13] "I should be very glad for their sake," wrote Prince Metternich,[14] "if they were to obtain a single man, a single penny, and a postponement of the evacuation, if only for a month."

He accordingly warned the Empress to abandon her illusions, but she hoped that the clear and logical arguments which she had used to the Emperor would prevail, and clung to the fact that he had left her even a ray of hope at the first interview.

The Empress next had a talk with the Jew Achille Fould, the Minister of Finance. His rapacity was proverbial in Paris, and the Empress, who was aware of this, took advantage of it, as she wrote, to dangle Mexico's wealth in silver before him. This made him so enthusiastic that he exclaimed: "Had I been young, I too would have gone to that country." Fould made a cursory allusion to the possibility of a new loan, but ended by taking a hasty leave, for fear, as he said, that if he talked any longer, he would end by being entirely talked round.

Fould was far more outspoken with his Emperor, when

[13] The following account is based in many respects upon an autograph memorandum of the Empress's in Spanish, entitled *Informe politico. Táctica seguida por Napoleone y que seguí con él.* V. N. A.

[14] Prince Richard Metternich to Count Mensdorff, July 12, 1866. V. N. A.

asked for his opinion. In a letter to Napoleon III he pronounced definitely against any further support of the Mexican enterprise.[15] It had, he went on, been undertaken with a double object in view: to restrain the United States' lust for domination and to develop France's commercial connexions. In the meantime the power of the United States had undergone a vast increase, and, as regards commercial affairs, France was now in a more unfavourable position than before. The monarchist party in Mexico was not so strong as the exiles had alleged; Maximilian had therefore depended upon the Liberals, who had betrayed him, so he now remained without backing between the two parties, and could no longer maintain himself. The Mexican army seemed to have no stable organization or loyalty, and the few European detachments scattered about the country would not be capable of offering any serious resistance after the withdrawal of the French. Even financial aid would not enable Maximilian to surmount his innumerable difficulties. Fould then states that it seemed to him impossible for the Emperor to remain in Mexico; he ought to abdicate, issue a proclamation and tell the Mexicans that they had made a mistake in offering him the throne, that he continued to avail himself of foreign troops only for the purpose of maintaining public order, and called upon the Mexican people to choose a new Government and a new regent. "I do not hide from myself," wrote Fould, "that it will perhaps be less easy to induce the Emperor Maximilian to abdicate. If I am well-informed, he will not do so until he is convinced that no more help is to be expected. He is beginning to feel it. The Empress Charlotte's voyage is a proof of this. If Your Majesty states to her unequivocally that, whatever your own personal feelings may be, Your Majesty can grant no support without summoning the Corps Législatif, whose opinion cannot be doubted, *the Empress Charlotte will induce the Emperor Maximilian to make the decision which I consider to be the only possible one.*"

At the end of his letter, Fould expressed the view that all they had to think about now were the desired guarantees for

[15] Fould to Napoleon III, Paris, August 13, 1866; printed in *Papiers et correspondances de la famille impériale* (Paris, 1871), II. 70.

the safety of the French in Mexico and their financial claims, as well as those of the creditors of the Mexican State.

The Empress Charlotte also had a long interview with Randon, the Minister for War; he too appeared convinced by all that the unfortunate woman said to him, and said yes to everything, but inwardly thought the opposite.

Napoleon had not yet received Fould's letter when, on August 13, the Empress Charlotte once more appeared at St. Cloud, this time privately and not in state. Her first business was about the promise that the monthly subsidy of half a million francs consented to by Bazaine should continue to be paid to the Mexican Treasury. She hoped that instructions to this effect might be sent by the steamer leaving on August 16, as the first result of her mission. With this aim in view she laid before Napoleon extracts from his letters of March 18 and 28, 1864, containing all the promises and assurances which he had written at the time when he feared that Maximilian would refuse the throne, and which Maximilian and Charlotte had taken at their face value up to the last minute. She laid particular stress upon the words in the letter of the 18th: "I beg you always to count upon my friendship. . . . You may be sure that my support will not fail you in the fulfilment of your task."

Still more unpleasant to Napoleon's ears were the following words from his letter of the 28th: "What would you think of me if, when Your Imperial Highness was once in Mexico, I were suddenly to say to you that I cannot fulfil the conditions to which I have set my signature?"

The reproach contained in these assurances, especially when laid before him in his own handwriting, was unspeakably painful to Napoleon. He was deeply agitated, but once again evaded giving a clear reply, under the pretext that he must first await the decision of the Ministerial Council which was about to meet, with the Empress presiding.

The Empress Eugénie at last succeeded in drawing her Mexican guest out of the Emperor's study. She dreaded any more painful scenes, and led the Empress Charlotte, agitated and distraught, into her private apartments, to hold a consulta-

tion from which the Emperor was absent, but at which Fould and Randon were present.[16] Charlotte could not contain herself; she said what she thought in no measured terms. She asked what had become of the difference between the nominal amount of the Mexican loans and the sum actually paid to Mexico; backed up by Castillo, she accused the French financiers of fraud. " Who are the persons," she exclaimed, " whose pockets are filled with gold at Mexico's expense? "

She next set to work to enumerate all Bazaine's mistakes, and to describe the abominable military situation to which his measures had led. " If those in Paris had conspired to bring about the ruin of the Empire," she said, " they could not have acted otherwise." Fould tried to defend himself; he contested the Empress's assertions, and in his turn accused the Mexicans of malversations and fraud. He even used the words " ingratitude," " distrust," and " sharp practice," and finally said that if things went on like this, they would have to throw the whole thing up. Randon, the Minister for War, listened in consternation; the Empress, who had quite lost her self-control, forgot Eugénie's presence and cast etiquette to the winds.

The Empress of the French resorted to the usual expedient of many women when they cannot find a way out of a painful situation. She threw herself sobbing into an arm-chair and pretended to faint.

At last this excited interview came to an end, amid the violent agitation of all present. It was not very clever of the Empress Charlotte, on the very day before the ministerial council which was to decide their fate, to treat the two chief ministers in this way, and that in the presence of their sovereign.

The Ministerial Council met on August 14. Fould repeated the arguments which he had advanced in the report submitted to the Emperor. Randon declared against the prolongation of the expedition, Drouyn de Lhuys supported him, and it was finally decided to throw over the Emperor Maximilian and his wife, and send instructions by the steamer on August 16,

[16] The account of this conversation is based upon Buffin, op. cit., p. 222–6, who found it in Eloin's papers.

confirming all those of which the Empress Charlotte had come to Europe to obtain a modification. The chief motives of this decision were fear of a conflict with the United States, and apprehension for the future of the dynasty if they came into open collision with public opinion in France.

The Empress anxiously awaited the result of the council; and since, naturally enough, they were in no hurry to inform her of it, she appealed to Marshal Randon, who informed her of the decisions which were so painful to her. Randon had already written to Marshal Bazaine that the Empress had handed in a long memorandum directed against him, but that this in no way diminished the confidence reposed in him by Napoleon. He added, in a communication dated[17] August 15, that the French Government had no more illusions about the Mexican business; it was obvious that in Mexico they had counted upon unlimited support in money and troops, but all that must be put an end to, and history would have to admit that Napoleon had done all that was humanly possible to establish the Mexican Empire firmly.

Drouyn de Lhuys sent for Almonte and requested him officially to inform Castillo, who had accompanied the Empress, of the unfavourable decision. "In order to turn aside and ignore the refusal (*pour parer et ignorer le refus*)" the Empress Charlotte instructed Castillo to allege an indisposition, so that the official communication reached Almonte alone, and was thus diverted into diplomatic channels, without involving the Empress personally. She further charged Almonte to delay as long as possible the instructions to Dano and Maintenant, the financial plenipotentiary in Mexico, and sent a telegram to Maximilian to this effect. She refused to give up hope, and now attempted to transfer the matter from the official into the personal and private sphere. In spite of the anxiety gnawing at her heart, she neither could nor would believe that the game was up.

On the morning of the 15th she sent the Emperor Napoleon a short letter of congratulation upon his name-day, for which she received an amiable letter of thanks at six o'clock in the

[17] See Gaulot, op. cit., II. 377.

evening. The Empress Charlotte now resolved first to write to her husband, and not to go to St. Cloud until she had talked to several people and "studied the situation more closely." She did not want to deprive her husband of all hope; but she had to admit that there was no explaining facts away. This was the origin of the following letter,[18] which we quote in full, and which clearly shows how cleverly she could extricate herself even from the flattest contradictions.

"Paris, August 15, 1866.

"My dearly loved treasure:

"In the first place I am perfectly well, so set your heart at rest on that point. In the second place, it is my conviction that we shall be able to accomplish something, since interest is in favour of it, but the ill will and helplessness in exalted quarters is great, and I know from a trustworthy source, Metternich, that for the last two years the Emperor Napoleon has been degenerating both physically and mentally. The Empress is incapable of directing affairs, she is no check upon the ministers, and does more harm than good. *On est devenu vieux* (they are getting old) and both of them childish; it is true that both of them weep frequently, I do not know whether it leads to anything. I have done all that can be imagined and at once presented the ultimatum to the Emperor. I have now had to work to get the 500,000 piastres continued by this mail, but have heard that there is nothing to be done; it is a matter of duty. However, I have not played all my cards with the Emperor Napoleon. I have been with him only twice; the second time I brought him extracts from his own promises, so that they might silently rankle in him (*um ihn im Stillen zu nagen*). He spoke a great deal about Mexico, but it is as though he had long since forgotten the affair. He wept more the second time than the first. If all goes well here, it will be the same in Rome and Washington.

"This letter is disjointed, for Poliakowitz is just leaving. I have visitors all day, which takes up all my time.

"I embrace you from the depths of my soul.

"Charlotte"

[18] Original in the Empress's handwriting in V. N. A.

Charlotte's visit was not taken seriously in the entourage of the Emperor and Empress of the French. Only Napoleon and Eugénie were inwardly full of sympathy. There is a characteristic statement in one of the letters of Prosper Mérimée, the writer and imperial librarian, who had become a friend and confidant of the Emperor and Empress owing to his acquaintance with Eugénie's mother. In his letters to Panizzi [19] he praises the pleasant freedom from etiquette at St. Cloud, and adds that at the moment they are threatened with a state dinner in honour of Her Mexican Majesty. "They will give her a dinner," he writes, "but I do not think she will get money or troops. I should not be surprised if Maximilian were to abdicate in a few months' time. Then there would be a republic, or more probably anarchy, shortly, I imagine, to be followed by lynch law on the part of the Yankees, and Anglo-Saxon colonization."

The ministers, the Chambers, and public opinion were opposed to Mexico, the Emperor's entourage were indifferent, the Emperor and Empress were firmly resolved to make an end of the matter; such was the desperate situation against which the Empress was fighting. Charlotte kept returning to the charge. She had further negotiations with Count Germiny and Corta about the financial situation; the former promised to pay at least the arrears of salaries due to the Mexican legations in Europe, amounting to 292,000 francs. Corta's opinion was that the French finances were in the best possible condition; the matter did not depend on Fould; the Empress ought to go to Rouher, the Minister-President, and have another talk with the Emperor. It was with him that the final decision rested. When Rouher waited upon the Empress on the 18th, he made the remark that the memorandum which she had handed in contained no financial proposals. "No," answered the Empress, "for the memorandum is merely an answer to the one you sent." Charlotte exerted herself to make it clear to Rouher that if France abandoned Mexico, the sums owing to her could not possibly be paid, in spite of the levy of fifty per cent upon the customs, for in the unpacified territories

[19] Prosper Mérimée: *Lettres à M. Panizzi, 1850–70* (Paris, 1881), p. 229.

these brought in nothing. Mexican paper money stood at present at 150, but on the day that Paris abandoned them to their fate, it would cease to have any value.

Rouher replied in a few embarrassed phrases, observing that he had heard from Monsieur Corta that the Empress desired to talk to the Emperor again. But she must have seen in the *Moniteur* that the Emperor had gone off on a journey. Charlotte replied that he would, however, come to see her once on his return, as was only due to her. Moreover, she insisted, she was not negotiating with the French Government; she saw only those ministers who asked for an audience with her, and regarded them merely as individuals, no more. "I take my answers," she said, "only from the Emperor himself, to whom I put the question."

She laid stress upon this to prevent Napoleon from communicating his decision to her through ministers. Charlotte intended to clear up the matter thoroughly. "I cannot change their will," she wrote in her *Informe politico,* "but I shall attack all evasions and groundless lies." She explained to Rouher that she had been hurt at the fact that questions which she had submitted to the Emperor had been discussed at the ministerial council, without a word to her on the matter. Rouher replied that they had thought Castillo was ill, so that he had not been in a position to inform her. With this the audience ended.

On the evening of August 18 the Empress received a letter from Napoleon, inquiring at what time he might see her. On the following day the Emperor appeared at the Grand Hotel at four o'clock in the afternoon. He had been very nervous for the last few days; his illness, the way in which Bismarck had thwarted him, and the embarrassments connected with Charlotte's visit, put an excessive strain upon his nerves. The Empress Eugénie complained to Metternich that the Emperor's temper had suffered severely and that he was irritable with everybody.[20] So far the Emperor of the French had tried as far as possible to shift on to others the painful task of communicating his refusal to Charlotte. Her tactics had hitherto

[20] Prince Metternich to Vienna, August 17, 1866. V. N. A.

prevented this; but now he must enter the lists in person. His anxiety not to offend Austria by his refusal did not weigh very heavily with him, in view of her recent humiliation.

At this interview the Empress Charlotte first made a fresh attempt to change the Emperor's mind by a moving appeal, and proposed to him to summon the Corps Législatif. He should propose to it to pay the ninety million francs which were asked for in monthly instalments. Should it not consent, the Emperor was to announce the dissolution of the Chambers, and issue an appeal to the French people, who would surely be enthusiastic about the affair, and follow the man whom they had chosen as Emperor.

This idea, the Empress Charlotte thought, seemed plausible to him, and so did another, that nothing but a balance of power on the new continent could be advantageous to France. For her interests demanded an empire beyond the seas as an ally and an outlet for France's surplus products. These were the Empress Charlotte's last proposals. Once more Napoleon evaded the point. At last he meant to state quite clearly and frankly that the Empress could hope for nothing more. But Charlotte observed this, and when Napoleon started speaking, she interrupted him, in order to evade the formal *fait accompli* of the refusal. At last the Emperor said, without any more beating about the bush, that she had better not indulge in any more illusions.

"Your Majesty," retorted Charlotte, beside herself with agitation, "is immediately concerned in this affair, and ought not to indulge in any either."

The Emperor rose without a word, bowed coldly to Charlotte, and left the room.

Two days later he had a formal notification sent to the Empress that he could not comply with her requests.

Fould did not know the Empress when he said that she would now advise her husband to leave Mexico. Her burning ambition caused her to suffer deeply from her failure, but the idea that the adventure must be given up did not occur to her. She did not once express herself to this effect, and continued to assert that they must now make other arrangements, in order

to keep their heads above water. None the less, her failure caused her poignant grief. During her sleepless nights she racked her brains for a fresh expedient. She was devoured by a fierce hatred of Napoleon, which deprived her of the power of clear thought and cool reflection. She compared the Emperor to the Devil and his entourage to hell.

Her head throbbed day and night with anxiety for her husband and their great work overseas. She already began to feel that she was persecuted by the Devil, and to say that they had tried to poison her with the orangeade at St. Cloud. In vain did her young and strong constitution struggle against the mental derangements which overwhelmed her tortured brain. She saw before her eyes the vision of the horsemen of the Apocalypse, the symbols of death, war, famine, and pestilence.

On August 22, 1866, immediately before her departure from Paris, which she now hated from the very depths of her being, she wrote the following letter to her husband, distracted with grief and rage:[21]

"Dearly beloved treasure:

"Early tomorrow morning I leave here for Miramar by way of Milan; this shows you that I have achieved nothing. . . . I have the satisfaction of having upset all their arguments, brought all their false pretexts to naught, and thereby given you a moral triumph, but He curtly refuses, and no power can aid us, for he has hell on his side and I have not. *It is not the opposition, He chooses the legislative bodies; still less is it anxiety about the United States, He means to commit a long premeditated evil deed; not out of cowardice or discouragement, or for any reason whatsoever, but because he is the evil principle upon earth and wants to get rid of the good, only humanity does not see that his deeds are evil and they adore him.*[22] Until yesterday I would not let him say outright that he would do nothing, in order to set all possible means to work in the meantime and to prove to you that he alone is the obstacle, for if the least of his ministers had been

[21] The Empress Charlotte to the Emperor Maximilian, August 22, 1866, in German; copy in V. N. A.

[22] This sentence is underlined in the original.

emperor, he would have yielded. So you can at least be sure of this, that to me he is the Devil in person, and at our last interview yesterday he had an expression that would make one's hair stand on end, he was hideous, and this was the expression of his soul; the rest are externals. And so he has never loved you from beginning to end, for he neither loves nor is capable of loving; he fascinated you like the serpent, his tears were as false as his words, all his deeds are treachery. I feel that you must escape from his claws as soon as possible. Since his final no, by which he believes that you are ruined, he is enchanted, quite the amiable Mephistopheles; when I took my leave yesterday, he even kissed my hand, but it is play-acting, for twice I have seen through him, and it has left me still shuddering, for the world has never known the like, nor will it — but *le règne touche à sa fin* (the reign is drawing towards its close), and then one will be able to breathe again.

" Perhaps you will think I am exaggerating, but it reminds me absolutely of the Apocalypse, and this Babylon quite suits it: it is enough to make any unbeliever believe in God to see the Devil so near. Bazaine and Fould are his attendant satellites, and they in turn have others; in any case there is none of his direct agents capable of a good action. If possible, you ought to get the former out of Mexico by force or other means; then things would fall into Douay's hands and there would be something to be done.

One great result of my presence is that '*le vin est dévoilé,*'[23] and men see, wonder, and despise. I have [seen?] all the records of the Finance Commission, another vile business from beginning to end. Germiny has consented to pay the poor legations, I have at least accomplished that — if he does it; every word here is a lie. *But you must not think that I have begged from these people, I have merely thundered at them and torn off their masks, and yet without discourtesy; certainly nothing so unpleasant has ever before happened to them in their lives.* And so you must get away from the near influence of this hell. I have explained to Gutierrez, and he now sees why you stuck to the Liberals, who were the opponents of these infamies. I cannot see clearly whether they want you to abdicate or not here; *I think you ought to maintain yourself as long as*

[23] The meaning of this is obscure.

possible, for if hell is thrown out, it would be in the interest of France and the whole of Europe to make a great empire in Mexico, and we can do this. Things in the Old World are sickening and depressing. *He* is so near, and one smells him in all the bloodshed, in every nation that is seeking unity. Bismarck and Prim are his agents; he makes propaganda in every country and laughs over the victims who have fallen. On the other side of the ocean one can defy him.

"Austria is turning into a Magyar State and is done for. Italy has no money and is demoralized, Spain is ablaze, the Austrian fleet alone has saved the honour of humanity; it has been seen that men still die and conquer for honour's sake, and the hand that formed them has been recognized. It was a ray of sunshine in the European gloom, the morning glow of a dawning power — that of the good — and the good is victorious. You cannot exist in the same hemisphere as He, he would burn you to ashes, he can hardly bring himself to mention your name. You must get rid even of the financial agents, or else master them, and separate military affairs from the French, otherwise you are lost. The whole army question and the amalgamation have been clear proof of this. If you can find support from native elements, the matter is feasible, but do not trust the French, one never knows whether it is not *He* who is bringing them. If Europe became aware of your situation, money would come in from every side. All Frenchmen have a material interest in the affair for their trade and power. So soon as you send for me, I shall be overjoyed, but I think that you cannot exist in Europe with *him* and that *He* fills the whole atmosphere from the North Cape to Cape Matapan. I hope that you will soon summon me, if you rid yourself of Him in Mexico. My visit was the heaviest blow he had had for a long time, and many people are interesting themselves in me everywhere. I embrace you with all my heart; your ever faithful

"Charlotte."

"Naturally I have never lived here in the style you wished. I am inheriting money from all sides, and the jewels too were very fine, I have a magnificent Golden Fleece for you. They allege that his plan is to enter into relations with Miramón, and Alm. [i.e., Almonte] is probably working for this. And so to stay there is the greatest injury to them and the best salvation

to us. Do not trust P. either [this might mean Pierron, but the Empress would be mistaken in this], the whole plan for the abdication was his."

In spite of all she was going through, Charlotte insisted that now more than ever they ought to stay in Mexico, and show Napoleon that they could get on even without him. But her mind was not as lucid as it had been. The nervous agitation of the last few weeks had undermined her nerves. Her outburst of elemental hatred for Napoleon was the first symptom of the persecution mania which made its appearance; she already kept repeating the story that there had been an attempt to poison her on her first visit to St. Cloud. Moreover, she kept returning to the Apocalypse. Her father had had in his possession fine impressions of Dürer's famous wood-engravings of the Revelation of St. John, and the plate showing pestilence, war, famine, and death raging over the fallen bodies of wailing men, after the opening of the first four seals of the book of life by the Lamb, had made the deepest impression upon her. And now in her despair this picture came back into her mind. Traces of nervous collapse appeared upon her charming face. A hectic flush hardly ever left her cheeks, and her eyes had at times a feverish, unnatural brilliance. She was also hurt that her brothers, the King of the Belgians and the Count of Flanders, neither came to visit her in Paris nor invited her to Brussels, forgetting that she had informed them that she could not set foot in Brussels for political reasons.

Prince Metternich took pains to impress upon the Empress before her departure that she ought not to cold-shoulder the imperial family in Vienna, in which alone she would find the consolation merited by her brave heart and unhappy fate. Now that he was proved to be in the right, the Prince was too full of true delicacy to refer by a single word to the fact that he had formerly warned them against the adventure.

The Empress Charlotte considered her most dignified course to be to travel through Italy to Miramar, and there await news of her husband before undertaking any fresh steps. Her cogitations about what the Emperor ought to do resulted in

the advice which she gave him in one of her letters:[24] "I think that, since the French are doing nothing and the Convention of Miramar has been broken, you ought at once to separate your army and finances from theirs and take them over yourself, removing from your entourage all Frenchmen, including P. [probably Pierron]."

On August 23 the Empress left Paris in a special imperial train placed at her disposal by Napoleon. She spent the next night at Mâcon, where the prefect and the general commanding the garrison waited upon her; and as she drove through the streets, lined by the troops, who had turned out with their band, she was loudly cheered by a large crowd. On her arrival Charlotte would perhaps have found anything of the sort very pleasing, but on her departure she considered it "official-looking and contemptible." On the following morning the Empress continued her journey through Savoy, which had recently been annexed to France, to the banks of the lovely Lac du Bourget, on which are situated Aix-les-Bains and the fine abbey of Haute-Combe, the mausoleum of the house of Savoy. Charlotte found such a sharp distinction between the French people and those of Savoy as to make her say that in annexing it France must have intended to injure the Italian dynasty rather than to enrich France. Crossing Mont Cenis pleased the Empress extraordinarily, in spite of the fact that it was spoilt by the rain; the wild and romantic scenes which unrolled themselves before her reminded her of the grand landscapes of Mexico. On arriving at the Italian frontier she heaved a sigh of relief, and thanked God that she was at last leaving France, where "He" lived and, to use her words, "poisoned the atmosphere with his villainy."

In Turin she was received at the station by the mayor and municipal authorities. She stayed at the best hotel, which was finer and larger than the Grand Hotel in Paris, and on the following day visited the regular and modern-looking capital of Piedmont and the royal castle.

In the course of conversation with the authorities she

[24] From a letter of the Empress Charlotte to the Emperor Maximilian, Villa d'Este, Lake of Como, August 26, 1866. V. N. A.

obtained the impression that Italy's army and finances had suffered severely during the recent war. In her hatred she at once ascribed all the blame to Napoleon: "In this I recognized the hand of the destroyer of men, who probably knew quite well what he was doing in allowing Austria to triumph over Italy, so as, if possible, to nip this promising country's future in the bud. The walls of Florence were to tell the same tale as those of Mexico. Perhaps they still believe in him! Otherwise the national appearance of all things, the red volunteers and the soldiers from all regions united under one flag, have a martial air which befits a young nation and is a sign of faith and strength."

Charlotte still enjoyed many warm personal friendships, surviving from the time when Ferdinand Max had been Governor-General, so she was received everywhere in Italy with cordial courtesy. She was welcomed in Milan by the *sindaco,* who drove her to the town hall, where General della Rocca arrived shortly afterwards to welcome her in the King's name. From here the Empress, who was unwell, and wanted, before continuing her journey to Miramar, to rest from the exertions through which she had passed, paid a visit to her late father's magnificent villa on the Lake of Como. She was touched at revisiting past scenes, and as she thought of the happy days which she had spent with her young husband in this favoured spot after her marriage. In this state of mind she wrote sadly to Maximilian:[25]

"Dearly loved Max:

"In this land so full of memories of happiness and enjoyment, of the best years of our life, I never cease thinking of you and send you these lines apart from my Paris letter. Everything here breathes of you; *your* Lake of Como, of which you were so fond, lies before my eyes in all its blue calm; all is the same, only you are over there, far, far away, and nearly ten years have passed by! And yet I remembered it all as if it were yesterday, and Nature here speaks to me of nothing but

[25] The Empress Charlotte to the Emperor Maximilian, Villa d'Este, Lake of Como, August 26, 1866. V. N. A.

untarnished happiness, not of difficulties and disappointments. All the names, all that happened, come forth again from some long unused corner of my brain, and I live once more in our Lombardy as if we had never left it; in two days I have lived over again the two years which were so dear to us.

"Only I should like to see you here, the people are so friendly. Early yesterday morning I heard mass at the tomb of San Carlo and visited the cathedral, which was filled with people in a moment; it was not curiosity, but grateful affection; and here in my bedroom I found your youthful portrait, probably put there on purpose, with the inscription *Governatore Generale del Regno Lombardo-Veneto*. . . . I hope, dear treasure, that you will be satisfied with me, for I have worked incessantly for the object which you set before me. . . . The moon is shining now, and there has been singing; it is beautiful beyond words."

The glories of nature, the affection with which she was surrounded on all sides in beautiful Italy, the rest which she was able to enjoy, though not for long, in the villa on the Lake of Como, did the Empress good. Her nerves became calm, and the symptoms of excitability less pronounced. A longer period of rest was urgently necessary, but she could not bear to stay any longer in these idyllic surroundings. Anxiety for her husband, her sense of duty, and her ambition, which was as lively as ever, gave her no rest. After a few days she started on her journey to Miramar.

This, to use the Empress's own words,[26] turned out to be the most interesting experience she had ever enjoyed. At Desenzano, bands of Garibaldian volunteers in their red shirts stood ready to receive her, the Mexican standard fluttered beside the Italian tricolour, and on Charlotte's arrival the music of the Garibaldian hymn struck up. The Mexican flag had been embroidered by the ladies of Bari. The Garibaldians, whose salute to the sister-in-law of the Emperor Francis Joseph was peculiarly touching to every Austrian, made no secret of the

[26] The Empress Charlotte to the Emperor Maximilian, Miramar, September 13, 1866; in the possession of Count Rudolf Rességuier. The following account is based upon this letter.

fact that they were aware how very different were Maximilian's feelings towards the Italian nation from those of his imperial brother. The troops made an excellent impression upon Charlotte. "They have a brisk and patriotic air," she wrote to her husband, "the flower of the youth of Italy.... The officer commanding the brigade, General Hany, a former Austrian deserter, born, as I heard, in Vienna, stepped up to my carriage and offered me the homage of the corps; I inquired after the health of Garibaldi, who was staying at Brescia, still suffering from the wound he received at Aspromonte, and being carried about in a litter. When I alluded to the tricolour flags of our two countries, he answered enthusiastically — we were speaking in French — '*Oh, oui, l'Empereur Maximilien entrainerait toute l'Europe avec lui* (Oh yes! The Emperor Maximilian would carry all Europe with him).' The Garibaldians appeared very friendly. Some officers were presented to me, and listened to what one said to the others with obvious interest.

"That was all you lacked; namely, that the revolution in Europe should show its respect and recognition of the young American monarchy. It would not have happened to any monarch over here, for none of them deserves it, unless it be, in many respects, the King of Italy himself. On the opposite shore of the Lake of Garda stood the Austrian cannon, like a symbol of stiff old traditional Europe, and also fired off their salute, and the band played the Austrian national anthem. Two Garibaldian officers had escorted me from Verona to Peschiera as aides-de-camp, one of them a Neapolitan, wounded at Aspromonte, the second the son of an Italian and born at Havana, and lastly a Piedmontese Major Bur[z?]i. At Peschiera five Austrian officers were attached to me, among them Baron Hahn of the navy, once on the *Fantasie*.[27] Thus old and young Europe vied with each other in paying attentions to the wife of the Mexican Emperor. In Verona was Toggenburg, with an idiotic hat, the last monument of the lost sovereignty over Venetia. A few generals also appeared, with draggled green

[27] The imperial yacht in the Austrian navy.

plumes. All sovereign honours were shown to me by both Austria and Italy, and the King of Italy came from Rovigo to Padua especially to greet me. Nothing was asked for, but nothing was refused, for it is an advantage that the powers of Europe should bow before an American sovereign."

"The Kingdom of Italy," wrote Charlotte,[28] fresh from all these impressions, "is springing wonderfully into being and what strikes one is the transformation of the revolutionary spirit into a new and mighty national feeling. There are no longer any constrained and forbidding faces, everything is natural and friendly. . . . As I was sitting in the station at Padua with Victor Emmanuel beside me, Cittadella[29] was standing outside; I called him in, and when I talked to him of the new happiness of the Venetians, he said sarcastically: '*C'è molto desordine* (there is much disorder).'[30] It was the language of the future, *for in my opinion Italy will become a great power*. I liked the King better than I had expected. It was not till later on that he rolled his eyes like Jeanningros.[31] He asked me to tell you how grateful he was for your kindness to him, how much he loved you, for, he added, '*il a de si bonnes idées* (he has such good ideas),' and he was really endlessly cordial. He is a man with a heart; he believes firmly in Italy, and really plays a part there, more than is supposed. I consider him one of the best sovereigns in Europe, for he loves the people. . . ."

After a stormy crossing from Venice the Empress arrived in the harbour of Trieste, where the fleet which, under the command of Tegetthoff, had won the battle of Lissa, lay at anchor. The Empress sailed through the midst of the squadron amid the cheers of the crews. Regardless of the pouring rain, she

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[28] From a document marked "The Kingdom of Italy," drawn up in Charlotte's own handwriting and enclosed in her letter to the Emperor Maximilian from Miramar, September 9, 1866; original in the possession of Count Rudolf Rességuier.

[29] Giorgio, Count Cittadella-Vigodarzere, a senator and formerly a deputy in the national parliament.

[30] Venetia had been ceded to Napoleon III immediately after the battle of Königgrätz, and he handed it over to the King of Italy after a plebiscite. Victor Emmanuel made his state entry into Venice on November 9, 1866.

[31] A French colonel in the Mexican expeditionary force.

went on board the admiral's ship, and gave warm expression to her joy and appreciation of their fine victory at sea. Tegetthoff thanked her cordially for this spontaneous act, and also expressed his joy in a letter to the Emperor Maximilian.[32]

The sight of her beloved Miramar moved the Empress to tears. In spite of all the glorious landscapes which Charlotte had seen in recent years, she was once more enchanted at the sight of the palace. "It may be a satisfaction to you," she wrote to Maximilian,[33] "to know that the Mexicans are all enraptured with Miramar, and that I too appreciate it to the full for the first time."

Charlotte walked through all the rooms in the palace over and over again, and rejoiced like a child over every trifle. In the dining-room the Mexican arms had been put up, with the imperial crown. Dr. Jilek, their former body-physician, who had always been opposed to the enterprise, had garlanded it with thorns. Charlotte gave her husband an account of this;[34] she also wrote to him that the ivy bower beside the summer-house had grown into a "wonder of the world," while the fan-palms, weeping willows, and pine grove, besides the cedars, were now a "wonderful size." "Everybody is amazed at these two works of the absent Prince, the battle of Lissa, and the palace of Miramar. These ideas are associated in everybody's speeches, and even before their eyes, for today the victorious squadron will pass Miramar in the same order of battle as at Lissa, with Tegetthoff leading on the *Erzherzog Ferdinand Max. Morituri te salutant.* It is the navy's last salute, for it is leaving Trieste, and perhaps disappearing from history. It cast the first ray upon your coming power, upon your dearly bought independence; it saved the coast which was so dear to you; now it too will leave Austria and your brother to their fate. Its mission is accomplished. So is yours. The honour of the house of Habsburg crossed the Atlantic with the name of

[32] Tegetthoff to the Emperor Maximilian, September 14, 1866. V. N. A.

[33] The Empress Charlotte to the Emperor Maximilian, September 9, 1866; original in the possession of Count Rudolf Rességuier.

[34] Document marked "Miramar" in the Empress's handwriting and enclosed in the above letter.

one of their last victories, Novara.[35] It is sinking here with the sun to rise again over there. The motto of your forefathers was *Plus ultra*. Charles the Fifth showed the way. You have followed him. Do not regret it. God was with him."

Such were the Empress's dreams. But now a question from the Mexican Minister in Vienna snatched her suddenly away from the rainbow-hued pictures with which she was beguiling herself.

Barandiaran asked whether he was really to comply with the order sent him on July 25, to denounce all treaties concluded with Austria in the name of the Emperor, and declare the Family Pact null and void. The Empress decided first to wait for Don José Luis Blasio, Maximilian's secretary, who was announced by telegram to be on his way to Europe with instructions. Meanwhile Eloin and the elder Iturbide, a boy of fourteen, who was being educated in Paris, arrived at Miramar.

In the meantime the Emperor Maximilian had been following the Empress's journey, and the scanty information which reached him about it, with anxious suspense. On August 17, under the impression of the news of the fall of Tampico and the murder of the imperialist prefect there, he sent Charlotte a telegram,[36] saying that the new ministry, with the Frenchmen Osmont and Friant, was working well, and that the customs convention demanded by France had been signed. But he complained that in spite of his written promise to pacify the country, Bazaine was evacuating one place after another, so that the Juaristas were already fighting near Vera Cruz and Jalapa. The Emperor asked her to inform Napoleon of this at once.

The Empress did not receive the telegram, which had been sent by way of New York, and reached Europe on August 31, till she was at Miramar, and it threw her into the greatest agitation. After long hesitation she resolved to write once again to Napoleon for help, in spite of all that had gone before.

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[35] Play of words on the name of the frigate *Novara*, which bore Maximilian and Charlotte to Mexico.

[36] The Emperor Maximilian to the Empress Charlotte, August 17, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

"Sir:

"In expressing my thanks for the special train which you put at my disposal as far as the frontier, I think I ought also to communicate to you a telegram which I have just received from the Emperor. I consider that the reasons which, as Your Majesty remarked, imposed a compulsory inactivity upon you, have disappeared now that Mexico has once again drawn closer the bonds connecting her with France.[37] Your Majesty will not wish your country to profit by the fresh sacrifices which we have just assumed, without securing to our country the benefit which it has the right to expect in accordance with the loyal policy which it has always observed towards your Government.

"I remain, Sir, with my request that you will assure the Empress of my friendship,

"Your Majesty's good sister,

"Charlotte." [38]

At the same time she wrote to Almonte, sending several numbers of the *Estafette* of Mexico of July 29, and asked him to distribute copies broadcast in Paris among the senators and deputies, generals and marshals, and in particular to give a copy each to Rouher, Fould, Frossard, and the Duc de Persigny. These newspapers said that, now that the French army was withdrawing, Maximilian had been approached with the suggestion that he should adopt a new foreign policy. But the Emperor had rejected all suggestions incompatible with his intimate alliance with France. The program of the new ministry was energy at home, and a close alliance with France abroad. Maximilian had transferred to the French Commander-in-Chief all the means at his disposal for the pacification of the country, and given him full powers to proclaim martial law and remove obnoxious officials at his discretion.

The Empress intended to make a new, and this time final appeal to Paris, but, shortly before sending off these letters and papers, she was again seized with misgivings. She remem-

[37] Acceptance of the oppressive customs convention.

[38] The Empress Charlotte to the Emperor Napoleon, Miramar, September 2, 1866; original in the Empress's handwriting, obviously never dispatched. V. N. A.

bered the deep humiliation which she had experienced in Paris. The proud Bourbon blood which she inherited from her mother revolted at a further humiliation from a parvenu Bonaparte, and at being forced to sue for a thing to which she had a good right, but which had already been brutally refused her. She could not bring herself to it; the letters, of which fair copies had already been made, remained unsent, but the resolve had cost her fresh mental struggles and emotions.

And now there was only one means of obtaining help and support left to her; the Pope might be requested to intercede with Napoleon. This step was hard enough for her, in view of the deeply rooted differences of opinion occasioned by the attempt to settle ecclesiastical affairs between Maximilian and the Curia, and the fact that even now they had not succeeded in concluding a concordat.

The Empress had already made an attempt to improve matters. On July 29, 1866, while still in Mexico, she had written to the Belgian Minister in Rome, Henri de Carolus, requesting him to inform the Papal Court that the King of the Belgians cordially desired the conclusion of a concordat between Mexico and Rome, and requested the Pope to lend a favourable ear to the matter. Henri de Carolus thereupon sought an audience with Pius IX [39] and gave him certain passages of the Empress's letter to read. The Pope replied: "My dear minister, I am animated by the best intentions towards the Empress, whom I esteem and value highly. Unfortunately she has not been able to prevent certain measures which place the Holy See in the greatest embarrassment. With the best will in the world, I am unable at this moment to commit to writing the reasons for the discord between Rome and Mexico, since I am as yet unacquainted with the instructions which Señor Velazquez de León will probably receive in a few days. But this much I can tell you: I will do all that is in my power to arrive at a settlement, provided these instructions are of any assistance to me."

[39] Henri de Carolus to the Empress Charlotte, August 8, 1866. V. N. A.

But the minister obtained the impression that the Pope had been advised to spin out the negotiations concerning the concordat till the Empire was consolidated. He therefore put it to the Pope that it was to his own interest to expedite the negotiations; if the agreement were once concluded, it might remain in force even if the Empire fell, whereas any later settlement could only be still less to the advantage of the Curia. This answer gave Pius IX food for thought, but in the main the matter remained as it was before.

Velazquez de León had also written to the Empress [40] that the Pope had told him that personally he desired the concordat, but that if it was to last, it must be approved not only by the general-in-chief (the Pope), but also by the other generals (the bishops). This was a clear intimation that the decision rested not only with Rome, but also with the Mexican bishops. In spite of this, Charlotte meant to hazard the attempt.

During her journey through Italy the sad impressions she had received in France had already faded away. Far from thinking of giving up the throne which she had striven for with all her might and finally won, she kept lulling herself with fresh illusions. She still believed that, as had been planned for some time, Bazaine would leave Mexico with the first detachments of French troops, and referred to this as a " great triumph." Moreover she had gained two points at least in Paris: namely, that the two loans should not be converted, and that the legations in Europe should receive their arrears to pay. More she could not do. As to the rest, thought Charlotte, Maximilian would see to that. What is more, news arrived from Mexico of victories won by some detachments of imperialist troops, about which Maximilian sent an optimistic cablegram. And so proud hopes once more entered into the Empress's soul. She overlooked the fact that Maximilian had mentioned the " detestable military situation " in a telegram of August 17. Her love for her husband led her to see things in a favourable light. She was deeply affected by one of his recent letters,

[40] Velazquez de León to the Empress Charlotte, August 11, 1866. V. N. A.

enclosing his photograph, which she pressed weeping to her lips.[41] She brooded over the reasons for the "abandonment" of the Convention of Miramar, and even attempted to read into it some sort of connexion with the Eastern question, which was cropping up again at that time. But in other respects she began to feel that the cessation of French help was positively a good thing. Everything led her back to her fanciful and often disordered illusions.

"I consider," she wrote to the Emperor, "that the cessation of close tutelage [i.e., on the part of France] is a great piece of luck, so great that it may compensate for the absence of material help and money. France is still Mexico's ally, and the worse the Government behaves, the greater will be the sympathy of the nation, which has opposed it (I should say, resisted it violently), and whose greatest commercial interest lies in Mexico's success. I also know on trustworthy authority that the United States will recognize you as soon as they know that you are the independent sovereign of Mexico, for the Monroe Doctrine has no objection to empires. And when the Liberal party in Mexico sees that you are staying, it will submit to you in a body, and then no further reason will exist for the United States and Europe to mistrust a monarchy founded upon the will of the people. The moment you abandon it, the Mexican nation ceases to exist, and can no longer maintain an independent Government. Juarez only represented the national cause until your arrival; since that time it is you who have brought independence and autonomy to all Mexicans, for you alone unite under your control the three colours of the parties of which the nation consists, white for the clergy, as a Catholic prince, green for the Conservatives, and red for the Liberals. None but you can blend and rule these elements, and their desire, as in the day of Iguala, is still nothing but independence for the Mexicans. The Liberals have now seen enough of you, they must *recognize* the national will by their submission, which was announced at your election, for you have been for a long time past a legitimately elected prince. No doubt about the past

[41] Letter from the Empress Charlotte to the Emperor Maximilian, September 9, 1866; original in the possession of Count Rudolf Rességuier.

ought to be stirred up by a fresh election. It is not necessary, you must force all the rest to submission through the Conservatives. It is your right and your duty. In saving the nation you are also saving the Liberals; they ought to be grateful to you for it. They have loved you for long past as an individual, they must give way and cease to exist as a party. The flag is yours, you are the nation. *El soberano,* as Juarez said.

"And so you should say plainly to all: 'I am Emperor'; nobody wants a president, an emperor's son does not call himself a president, and institute a monarchy in the modern style, with all the respect due to it. They must bow before you, for the republic is a step-mother (*une marâtre*), like Protestantism, and monarchy is the salvation of humanity; the monarch is the good shepherd, the president a mercenary (*mercenaire*); that absolutely expresses it. If the problem of uniting the Mexicans on this basis is solved, everything is solved, and then we shall get money from all quarters; one will need few troops if the rebellion comes to an end; and there you will stand before the world, supported by your own people. . . . The residue of the *chinacos* might be used like the Garibaldians in Italy, turned into a sort of militia or advance guard of nationality against hostile attacks, it is only by employing them that they will disappear. I do not mean the bandits, but the representatives of the idea which is embodied in the exclusion of foreigners. In Italy these persons, curbed to a certain extent by the Government, and used for Italian purposes, are a strength to the nation. One must make use of the elements one has, but in this case it would be a good thing if the French soon began to evacuate the country.

"If you succeed in all this as you ought to, immigrants will pour in from America and Europe, and *you have the finest empire in the world, for Mexico must and will inherit the power of France to a greater extent.* But this will happen only when it is once consolidated by Mexican support. *In Europe convulsions will begin that will last for years. Austria will lose all her lands.* The dynasties of Prussia and Portugal steal [42] territories; you cannot stand at the head of any such process

[42] Possibly the word "will" is omitted from the original.

of unification, for even if they ultimately benefit the nation, they are dishonourable to the instruments by which they are effected. And none of these States, Germany or Constantinople, Italy or Spain, will be what Mexico will be if you alone work for it, for all that shrank from the *friend*[43] will help you. His mission in America is accomplished. He has founded an empire; he is now overthrowing the temporal power,[44] and is bringing an emperor to Constantinople;[45] then he will cease to exist, and you are the heir to his greatness in both hemispheres. On the day the French withdraw as an army, France will enter as a nation, and the Mexicans will be yours. You will judge whether it is not better sooner or later to put an end to the occupation, in concert with the United States."

This excursion into dream-land shows how far the Empress was from reality. Of course no troops would be wanted if the rebellion left off, but at that time it was blazing up on all sides with uncontrollable fury. It would have been a good and splendid thing to act in concert with the United States, but the Empress must have known that so far they had refused to have anything to do with Maximilian. Everything cannot be attributed to her bad German;[46] her words show obvious traces of mental derangement. But she still had herself sufficiently under control to be able to continue her labours for the cause of which she would not even now despair.

Don Felipe Degollado, one of the members of the commission which was carrying on the negotiations for the concordat in Rome, had come to Miramar. After consulting him the Empress resolved to go to Rome herself, in order to win the Pope over to the project for a concordat, and perhaps to obtain help in other ways. Her depression now seemed to have left her for good; meanwhile, too, better reports had reached the Emperor, which she received joyfully.[47] Like him,

[43] i.e., Napoleon III.

[44] Of the Pope, for Napoleon had resolved to withdraw his troops from Rome.

[45] I have nowhere been able to discover that Napoleon ever had any such idea.

[46] Charlotte both spoke and wrote very faulty German, for her education at the Court of Brussels had been carried out entirely in French.

[47] The Empress Charlotte to the Emperor Maximilian, Miramar, September 13, 1866; original in the possession of Count Rudolf Rességuier.

she exaggerated the value of all the favourable reports that reached her, and found it only too easy to overlook what appeared to her unfavourable:

"Dearly loved treasure:

"Things seem to be going very well. The excellent news from Mexico, where you have so distinguished yourself — and this is generally recognized — is a very great help to the cause. . . . They say General Castelnau is sailing by the French steamer bearing this letter, with a letter from Him[48] to you. I suspect that this communication is not unconcerned with the present state of Venetia, and this was what El. [Eloin] so often hinted to you. This would weaken Austria and Italy at the same time, and so it would just suit him. But one could hardly exchange a situation [i.e., Mexico] dominating both oceans, for a city lost in the swamps [Venice] and a people bled white by taxation, and hardly amounting to two millions, a true picture of the misery in wealthy Italy and degenerate Europe.

"The way in which things are looked at in this country is extraordinary, for they talk about a few American ships as if they were going to destroy everything. What will it be, then, if fresh powers spring up among those of America? *Then we shall be able to alter states and appoint kings at our will!* We on our continent have now such fullness of youth and promise that we need only civilization and men to reach heights unknown upon earth. Everything in Europe, on the other hand, looks like mere playthings. One does not understand the smallness and weakness of it till one has been over there."

The Empress's thoughts moved in a confused world of insane ambition. What she wrote here about Venice shows that the Emperor and Empress of Mexico had frequently considered the question of what sphere of activity could be offered to Maximilian if he gave up the Mexican imperial throne. It is very possible that before the Prussian campaign Napoleon III had had the idea of making the cession of Venetia more palatable to Austria by leaving it its autonomy for the time be-

[48] Napoleon.

ing, and handing it over to Maximilian, who might be tempted, by receiving compensation in this form, to leave Mexico, where Napoleon had finally resolved to make an end of his commitments. Eloin, who had stayed so long in Paris and Brussels, would hardly have invented this plan himself. But Castelnau had no instructions from Napoleon about Venice. Even if such had been the case, Maximilian, and above all his wife, had no intention of consenting to it. They clung fast to the imperial crown, which, in spite of all its dangers, seemed to them more desirable than a mere dogeship of Venice. But since the catastrophe at Königgrätz, in spite of the victories of Custozza and Lissa, nothing of the sort could be contemplated. Napoleon had therefore dropped the idea, if he had ever taken it seriously into consideration. Charlotte forgot that Italy was the ally of victorious Prussia, and that the national idea was gradually removing her from the orbit of Napoleon's waning influence. Castelnau's mission, as was soon to be evident, was of a very different nature.

On September 14 Maximilian's secretary at last reached Miramar, where the Empress was awaiting him impatiently. His reports, which had been anticipated by the Emperor's telegrams, gave a somewhat softened picture of conditions in Mexico, which were growing steadily more critical. Charlotte was again seized by a nervous restlessness. Blasio, who had passed through Paris, had repeatedly to evade her pressing cross-examination as to whether Napoleon's agents had intercepted the correspondence he had brought with him on the journey.[49]

The Emperor Maximilian had urgently impressed upon Charlotte to try her fortune in Rome as well. The Pope was now their last hope. She therefore resolved to start for Rome without delay. She waited only to celebrate September ~~17~~ 16, the anniversary of the Mexican declaration of independence, at the palace of Miramar, before starting on the following day upon her last sad pilgrimage to Rome. The festival was celebrated brilliantly. Those who saw the Empress presiding at the

[49] See José Luis Blasio: *Maximiliano intimo* (Paris and Mexico, 1905), II. 240.

banquet, in all the freshness of her beauty, with a glittering diadem in her hair, would never have believed how severely she had already been tried by destiny, how terrible the days in Paris had been, and what a crushing fate the near future had in store for her.

Her departure for Rome took place on September 18. At first there were great difficulties, for the Italian port authorities declared that, on account of the cholera, all ships coming from Austrian ports must spend a fortnight in quarantine. Charlotte therefore resolved to travel by land to Mantua, and cross the frontier there. In her suite travelled Castillo, Count del Valle, Radonetz, prefect of the palace of Miramar, Dr. Bohuslavek, and her trusty waiting-woman Mathilde Doblinger, who had been in her service for many years.

Blasio and Kuhacsevich, the treasurer, had gone on ahead to find accommodation for the Empress and smooth the way before her. Charlotte took the express train to Marburg, then a special train, and then a post-chaise to Botzen. Her uncertainty as to the outcome of this new pilgrimage and the hardships of the journey tired her greatly. She turned things over and over in her mind. She had met with no success in Paris, but surely, she thought, the head of Christendom, who was at that time still in possession of the temporal power and had great influence upon the destinies of the world, could and would still help. She might, however, have considered that it was precisely from the Church that the greatest difficulties had arisen for Mexico.

The growing disorder of her brain suggested to her that Napoleon would be sure to have his instruments in Rome, where his troops were still stationed, to spy upon her, perhaps even to conspire against her life. She even began to suspect her suite, for instance Blasio, who had come through Paris.

At Botzen serious symptoms declared themselves. She suddenly sent for Castillo, and explained that she did not intend to continue her journey to Rome, for she felt unwell; she had probably been poisoned; for heaven's sake let them double their vigilance.

Since the Empress at first persisted, they telegraphed anxiously to Kuhacsevich, who had arrived in Mantua, saying that the journey was abandoned and the Empress was returning to Miramar. But shortly afterwards came counter-instructions to the effect that she intended to go on.

A special train brought Charlotte to Mantua, where there was still an Austrian garrison. She was given a state reception. She was greeted with a salute of a hundred and one guns, all the troops turned out, and an enormous crowd collected to see Charlotte of Mexico. She took the salute of the troops as they marched past her hotel, and in the evening the city was ablaze with lights. Austrians and Italians vied with one another to fête the princess, of whom, in spite of their bitter feud, both nations cherished a friendly remembrance.

At Reggio the Empress found waiting for her Don Leonardo Marquez, who had left Constantinople when he heard that the state of his country had become critical, and that his Conservative friends had been entrusted with the government. The Empress met with the warmest greetings the whole way from the Po to Rome. Wherever she arrived, there were parades, music, salvoes of artillery, and receptions by the notabilities. The whole population turned out, even at the smallest railway stations, where it was known beforehand that the train would not stop. At Reggio the authorities went out to meet the Empress in full-dress uniform, and escorted her to the palace of the Cavaliere Ferrari-Corbelli, before which the *banda* and the regular soldiers were drawn up, and a ceremonial luncheon was prepared. The strong Italian garrison at Bologna, with the picturesquely attired Bersaglieri, paid the Empress the same honours as the Austrian troops had done in Mantua.

All this was a little distraction to the Empress, though these kindly meant celebrations caused her some fatigue. Three hours from Rome, Velazquez de León came out to meet the Empress with the other members of the Mexican commission, and a deputation sent by the Pope to welcome her.

The Empress was unable to preside at the dinner given to welcome her at Foligno by the city authorities of Rome. She

was seized with an attack of violent nervous trembling and palpitations. The train arrived in Rome late at night; a few cardinals were at the station by the Pope's instructions. The Guarda Nobile and the papal *gendarmerie* were in attendance, with an escort of cuirassiers. It was streaming with rain. The Empress stepped from the train dressed in black, as pale as a ghost, and utterly exhausted. She drove by torch-light to the Grand Hotel with her escort. But the whole effect was rather that of a splendid funeral procession than of the reception of a young and lovely empress.

On the next day Charlotte woke to glorious sunshine, refreshed and strengthened by her sleep. Eager to see something of the Eternal City, to which she had never paid more than a flying visit before, and unable to stay at home, owing to her state of incessant agitation, she ignored the doctor's advice to spare herself, in view of her coming exertions, and drove about the streets of the city with Señora del Barrio. She drove on the Pincio, enjoyed the beautiful view over the city, and returned towards noon to her hotel, tired out and bathed in perspiration, owing to the terrible heat.

A visit from Cardinal Giacomo Antonelli was arranged for the afternoon. This ecclesiastic was descended from a very humble family, but had risen to a position of unexampled power at the Papal Court by means of his intelligence, his talent for diplomacy, and his good fortune. At that time he was Minister-President and Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Papal States, but occupied other high positions as well, and his word was as good as the Pope's, who was now concerned for the most part with ecclesiastical affairs alone. The fact that he was sent to the Empress signified very much the same thing as the fact that Eugénie had been the first to call upon Charlotte in Paris. Eugénie's intention had been to spare her consort the painful business of informing Charlotte of his refusal, and now Antonelli had the same intentions with regard to the Holy Father. He drove to the hotel in his red cassock and mantle, and was received at the top of the steps by the Empress. He stayed with her for a whole hour, rehearsing to her all the sins of which her consort had been

guilty towards the Church, in order to explain why the concordat had not been concluded.

It was hard for her to introduce her request that the Pope should intervene with Napoleon III; yet she did so. But the Cardinal evaded the point. He had no wish to destroy his influence with the Emperor of the French, whose troops, which they still hoped to keep, represented the last support of the Papal States against the encircling menace of the idea of Italian unity. He assured her that the Pope had the best intentions, gave her his blessing and his best wishes, but, for the rest, repeated the historic "*Non possumus.*" The Cardinal finally referred the Empress to the Pope, who was ready to receive her. In any case he knew beforehand that all she would hear would be good wishes and promises to do "everything possible." Charlotte returned to her apartments in depression. She now tried to comfort herself with the thought that it was not Antonelli, but the Pope who would have the last word. She did not abandon her unconquerable optimism, and continued to hope against hope.

Nothing in the Empress's appearance betrayed the cares that weighed upon her. The Roman nobility, the diplomatic world, the higher clergy, and the authorities waited upon her or signed the visitors' book. From early in the morning till late at night the Empress found no rest. One reception followed close upon another, and in between them took place negotiations with the commission on the concordat.

The Empress's audience with the Pope was arranged for September 27 at eleven o'clock in the morning. Full of agitation, but still in full control of her wits, she entered the state coach, drawn by four horses, which drove her through a vast crowd to the Vatican with an escort of cuirassiers. Preparations had been made to receive the Empress with the highest honours. The Papal Guards, in their splendid uniforms, designed by Michelangelo, lined the great staircase right up to the throne-room. Here the Pope, surrounded by the dignitaries of the Church, awaited the Empress and her suite. When Charlotte stooped to kiss the Pope's foot,[50] he gently

[50] See Blasio, op. cit., p. 264.

prevented her, and only allowed her to kiss his ring. After he had given the papal blessing, both their suites withdrew, and the Pope escorted the Empress into an adjoining room, to speak with her alone. There is no record of what they said, but the Empress seems to have been convinced by the conversation that in this quarter, too, no assistance could be reckoned upon. The collapse of her last hopes was too much for her; her mind could no longer bear these continued agitations and disappointments, her faculties became clouded, and persecution mania appeared in an extreme form. Señora del Barrio was afterwards told, and repeated to the Emperor,[51] that on the 27th Charlotte entered the Pope's presence with the words that all those who had accompanied her and were waiting outside were poisoners, acting upon Napoleon's orders. During the whole hour and a half for which the interview lasted, this subject, it was said, was the only one discussed. It is certain, however, that Charlotte handed the Pope the draft of a concordat and that she left his study out of her mind. Surrounded by cardinals and prelates, she descended to her carriage with a distraught expression, gloomy and silent, and drove back to the hotel. On arriving there she abruptly ordered her attendants to withdraw.[52] She then shut herself up in her apartments, after giving orders that she would dine there alone. In the evening she gave further orders that all guards and military bands were to be withdrawn, and that she would accept no further honours. Her attendants saw this total change in the Empress with consternation.

The Pope's return visit passed off comparatively calmly. The interview was remarkably short. Once again the whole suite was summoned to receive the papal blessing, but the Empress's distrust for her attendants had become more marked. In the evening she gave another dinner, at which she herself ate nothing but oranges and nuts, first assuring herself that the peel and shells were intact.

On the following day, at eight o'clock in the morning, she

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[51] Señora del Barrio to the Emperor Maximilian, Rome, October 10, 1866. V. N. A.

[52] Blasio, op. cit., p. 265.

summoned Señora del Barrio, ordered a cab, and first drove to the Fountain of Trevi. She was parched with thirst, for she had drunk nothing the day before, dreading lest poison might have been mixed with her drink. Then she suddenly ordered the driver to take her to the Vatican. On arriving there, she vehemently demanded to be taken to the Pope. Though there was some hesitation at disturbing him at this early hour, there was nothing to be done but to take the Empress to his room, dressed in deep mourning, and in a state of terrible agitation. She had scarcely arrived when she threw herself at the Pope's feet in floods of tears, and begged him to have her suite arrested; they all wanted to poison her, and she was surrounded in her hotel by none but spies of Napoleon. The Holy Father kindly attempted to calm the unhappy princess, but he did not succeed; the insane Empress's complaints became more and more urgent and heart-rending. At last they pretended to comply with her request, and Velazquez de León was at once summoned to the Vatican. Cardinal Antonelli drove to the Empress's hotel, had all the persons in her suite whom she had mentioned by name as poisoners removed to another hotel, and telegraphed to the Count of Flanders to come to Rome immediately, on account of his sister's mental derangement.

When Charlotte had grown a little calmer, the Pope asked her to breakfast, for since he had said mass before this unexpected audience, he was still fasting.[53] When chocolate was brought to the Empress on a silver tray, she at first declined it quite courteously, but suddenly dipped three fingers of her right hand into the cup, again declared that they were trying to poison her, and protested that she had rather die of hunger than fall into the trap laid by her murderers. They next brought her another bowl, but she let it stand and drank out of the first as if nothing had happened. She began talking quite reasonably with the Holy Father about every aspect of Mexican affairs, without noticing that the hour for him to receive people in audience had long since struck, and that he was

[53] The following account is based upon the recently published notes of Señora del Barrio, the Empress's lady-in-waiting, who accompanied Charlotte on her unannounced visit to the Vatican.

becoming more and more uneasy. When they at last made this plain to her, and she understood that she had to go, she declared that on no account would she leave the Vatican, for murderers were lying in wait for her down at the door. Persuasion and urgent prayers were of no avail. They at last decided to show her the Vatican Library, but she would not go even there without the Pope, who could not do otherwise than follow her. But he seized a favourable opportunity of slipping away unobserved while she was admiring the treasures there, and left her in charge of Bossi, colonel of the papal *gendarmerie,* and her lady-in-waiting. Charlotte next asked to be taken into the gardens of the Vatican, where she quenched her parching thirst at an open-air spring. She begged Bossi most urgently not to leave her, and gave him a card with the names of Count del Valle, Dr. Bohuslavek, and Frau Kuhacsevich, beseeching him most fervently to have them arrested. From this time onwards they had to conceal themselves from the Empress, who was told that they were in prison.

As noon approached, it was still impossible to persuade her to go. A meal was served for the Empress in a separate room, and she ate her luncheon with her lady-in-waiting, Bossi, and Cardinal Antonelli, without displaying any particular fear, merely requesting that she might eat from the same plate as Señora del Barrio. After luncheon she rested a little, without showing the slightest inclination to return to her hotel. In the evening fresh attempts were made to persuade her to do so, but she implored that she might be allowed to spend the night in the palace, for she would be in mortal terror at the hotel, where she was surrounded by none but murderers. They were greatly embarrassed. Never had a woman spent the night in the Vatican; but the Empress wailed so heart-rendingly that she would spend the night on the pavement of the corridor if they could not give her a room, that the Pope at last gave Monsignor Pacca orders to have two beds arranged in one of the rooms in the library for the Empress and Señora del Barrio. In an instant the Pope's orders were carried out; splendid furniture and precious candlesticks were brought, with all the necessary equipment, and the apartment trans-

formed into a comfortable bedroom. The Empress, worn out by the excitements of the day, was taken to bed and at once fell asleep, while Señora del Barrio kept watch over her. When Charlotte opened her eyes next day, she did not at first know where she was; but when they told her, she expressed the greatest joy at staying there in the Vatican under the protection of His Holiness, for there alone did she feel safe.

Convinced that she would shortly be poisoned, she wrote farewell letters and made her will.[54] She desired that upon her death she should not be "embalmed or lie in state," but buried in the simplest way in St. Peter's, as near as possible to the tomb of the apostle. She left the whole of her property and all her jewels to Maximilian, asking only that her brothers should be given remembrances. In a few heart-rending words she took leave of her husband.

"Rome, October 1, 1866.

"Dearly beloved treasure:

"I bid you farewell. God is calling me to him. I thank you for the happiness which you have always given me.

"May God bless you and help you to win eternal bliss.

"Your faithful

"Charlotte"

The unhappy Empress also wrote to the Pope, begging for His Holiness's blessing "on the threshold of death." When all these documents were ready and signed, towards evening on October 1, the Empress regained her calm, and an attempt was made to persuade her to go for a drive in one of the papal carriages, with the secret intention of taking her back to her hotel. But she continued to refuse. Antonelli now tried another scheme. He sent word to the Mother Superior of the Convent of St. Vincent to come to the Empress and invite her to visit the orphanage there. The Mother Superior appeared, and played the part assigned to her admirably. Charlotte asked for assurances that no attempts would be made to murder her

[54] The originals, all dated October 1, and witnessed by Radonetz, Dr. Jilek, and Count Bombelles are preserved in V. N. A.

during the visit, and was at last persuaded to enter the carriage with the sisters. During the drive she hid her face in her handkerchief, so as not to be recognized. The visit to the orphanage at first went off without accident, till they visited the kitchen. The sister in charge there offered the Empress some ragout. Suddenly Charlotte saw a little speck on the knife and fork offered her. Once more she was plunged into the direst distress. "The knife and fork are poisoned!" she exclaimed. "They have not been polished!" Then she knelt down in the kitchen, before all the sisters, and thanked God aloud for saving her from grave mortal danger. Suddenly she saw on the hearth a pot in which large pieces of beef were simmering in water. Gnawed by hunger, for she had eaten nothing since her morning meal, she plunged her hand into the pot and hastily seized a piece of meat. In doing so she scalded her fingers badly, and when the scalds were bound up, she fainted from the pain. Advantage was taken of this opportunity to bring her back to the hotel, but she recovered consciousness while in the carriage, and began to call out for help. On arriving at the hotel she struggled violently, and would not get out. She had finally to be carried screaming through the curious crowd which had assembled before the hotel in an instant, and taken into the hotel by force. Those in attendance upon her had met there, and decided to send Dr. Bohuslavek to Mexico to inform the Emperor of his wife's malady. They anxiously awaited the arrival of the Count of Flanders and Count Bombelles, who had stayed in Miramar, and had also been summoned.

The Empress spent October 2 and 3 brooding gloomily in her apartments, attended by nobody but her waiting-woman, whom she did not yet suspect. By doctor's orders, none of the rest of her suite appeared, unless one of them was expressly summoned. The waiting-woman prepared the Empress's meals on a spirit-stove in her room and under her eyes, and partook of every dish first. But this was not enough; Charlotte sent for a cat and made it eat some of every dish before she would take any of it. For the rest the Empress spent her time composing formal decrees, stating that she dismissed the members

of her suite for treachery and murder. She had brought a glass with her from the Vatican, and every day, attended by Mathilde Doblinger, she hurried to a different public fountain in the city, and drank of it.

On October 5 she received a letter from Pope Pius IX, who returned the project for a concordat handed him by the Empress at her first audience, and attempted to calm her:

"Your Majesty:

"I enclose the project which Your Majesty handed to me, and am very glad for you to keep the glass. I pray to God daily that your peace of mind may be restored, and that He will remove from you those fits of suspicion which only cause you incessant agitation.

"I bless you with all my heart.

"Pius IX"[55]

The Empress's condition was, however, becoming more and more ominous. She could no longer sleep, for anxiety lest she might be attacked in her sleep. Restless and nervous, she paced up and down her room, talking to herself now softly, now excitedly. Her malady left terrible traces on her face; her cheeks wore a hectic flush, her eyes were sunk deep in their sockets, her glance was uncannily restless and furtive. She began to neglect her appearance, could no longer bear to have her hair arranged, and saw a murderous dagger in every tooth of the comb. There sometimes occurred intervals during which she spoke, acted, and thought rationally again, but even during these short pauses the idea of poison hardly ever left her.

The waiting-woman, who had remained incessantly at the side of her unfortunate mistress, was ready to collapse; she could no longer endure this constant agitation. They began to look for a substitute, but shrank from introducing a stranger into the Empress's presence; still less could any of the ladies of her suite be entrusted with the care of her, owing to her suspicion.

On the evening of October 7 Charlotte was still talking

[55] Pope Pius IX to the Empress Charlotte, October 5, 1866; original in V. N. A.

quite rationally about Mexico, her reception in Rome, and the sympathy displayed for her, and afterwards about the death of Don Jesús Terán, which had meanwhile occurred in Paris, and that of another Mexican, one Musso, who had died on board ship during the Empress's voyage to Europe. Both had died a natural death, but the Empress believed that even they had been murdered. During the night she went to meet the Count of Flanders at the station. Count Bombelles, who had arrived the day before, accompanied her, and talked for quite two hours with the Empress. On the morning of the 8th, which the Empress spent in the company of her brother, she ordered that a silver heart should be bought, and that on it should be engraved the words: "*A Maria Santissima, in riconoscenza di esser stata liberata da un pericolo di vita il 28. 7bre 1866.* (To Most Holy Mary, in gratitude for having been freed from a mortal danger on September 28, 1866.) *Carlotta Imperatrice del Mexico.*" She then had the votive offering hung up in the Church of San Carlo.

On the afternoon of the 8th the Empress took leave of the King and Queen of Naples. When they tried to impress upon her to be calm, and not to be afraid to eat and drink, Charlotte replied that they too ought to take great care that they were not poisoned. During the night of the 9th the Count of Flanders stayed in his sister's room; she did not go to bed, but, whether waking or sleeping, she wandered in her mind. Thus she told her brother about the palaces they had built in Mexico, about America and its customs, and the religious ideas of the New World. She maintained [56] that no great person ever died a natural death, that her father and mother, the King and Queen of the Belgians, Palmerston, Prince Albert, etc., had been poisoned. The Count of Flanders had sent three telegrams, to Rothschild's in Vienna and Paris and to Cuza in London, who had portions of the Empress Charlotte's property in their keeping, with instructions not to carry out any further orders from her unless they were countersigned by Radonetz. On October 9 the Count of Flanders started removing his sister from Rome to Miramar by way of Ancona.

[56] See Buffin, op. cit., p. 238.

Only two years before, she had set out from the palace on the Adriatic blooming with beauty, strength, and joy, and full of high ideals; now she returned with her mind hopelessly clouded, broken in the flower of her youth.

The Count of Flanders succeeded in removing his suffering sister to Miramar without any untoward occurrences on the journey. But on arriving there, the Empress did not want to stay. She declared that she wished to go at once to Vienna and Brussels to take fresh steps on behalf of her husband, the danger of whose position she realized in her lucid moments.

When they prevented her, she kept trying to escape without a hat or cloak.[57] She expected Maximilian's return daily, and even asked the servant on one occasion why the Emperor was not present at luncheon.

The idea that everyone was bent upon poisoning her never left her.[58] At first she had thought that this intent to murder her was to be attributed only to Napoleon's orders, but afterwards her troubled mind believed that even her own husband was conspiring against her life. After prolonged efforts Dr. Jilek and Professor Riedel, who had been summoned from Vienna, succeeded in removing Charlotte's insane idea that as early as her journey to Yucatan Maximilian was planning to murder her. It seemed to have succeeded, for one day she fell upon the doctor's neck, sobbed aloud for joy, and declared that she had suddenly been relieved of a nightmare.

The patient was at her gayest on November 4, her name-day. The Princess Auersperg had just arrived, and was received by the Empress with heart-felt joy. Dr. Jilek also succeeded in persuading her to receive Count Charlie Bombelles, who was also celebrating his name-day, but had not dared to show himself since Rome. She congratulated the Count heartily, without in the least remembering that she had so often accused him of wanting to poison her. It also gave Charlotte great joy to receive and answer the congratulations of many members of the imperial family.

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[57] Ibid.

[58] The following account is based upon the report of Dr. Jilek, the doctor attending the Empress, to the Emperor Maximilian, November 9, 1866. V. N. A.

Yet that very evening, as the Empress with her guests and physicians was approaching the garden-house, where four musicians were to perform a string quartet by her wish, she again began to tremble, taking the musicians for suspicious characters with designs upon her life. The Empress now took another turn for the worse; her distrust increased every day; most people in the palace became objects of suspicion, even an old servant who had been long in her service, because he had black rings round his eyes. They all seemed to her hirelings intending to carry out "a fresh slaughter," as she said. In the women washing at the spring near Mora, in the workmen on the road, in everybody, she saw spies hired by Radonetz, the prefect of the palace, at Maximilian's behest. Once more the Empress began to shrink from drinking water, for her husband had once told her that an attempt had been made to poison him in his water at Orizaba. She attacked Dr. Jilek himself violently, so that he was forced to rebuke her severely for her conduct, and even to threaten her. But this treatment also met with no success. The patient was only apparently calmer, and showed by her fear and her bitter remarks that she continued to cherish her insane idea.

It was impossible to keep her employed with anything quietly for long; she soon grew bored with everything she did, whether it was painting, playing the piano, or reading. It was only politics that continued to interest her, but in a mystic and prophetic guise, in which her husband always played the most prominent part.

The Revelation of St. John was always in her mind. Dürer's gruesome version of the horsemen of the Apocalypse floated before her eyes day and night.

Charlotte's malady was hopeless. This could no longer be concealed from her husband, who was awaiting her in Mexico in agonized suspense. The bitter cup was filled to the brim, and Maximilian was to drain it to the dregs.

CHAPTER XI

THE DEATH-AGONY OF THE EMPIRE

The Emperor's affliction — His hopes — Gutierrez in and out of season — Emperor and Marshal — Van der Smissen's promises — They prove a disappointment — The Iturbide family grow anxious — Napoleon III's final refusal — Castelnau's mission — News of the Empress's condition — Resolve to leave Mexico — Departure for Orizaba — To go or to stay? — The Emperor hesitates — The British Minister advises him to stay — Pierron's surprising news — Feeling in the Austrian volunteer corps — Father Fischer and the Conservatives victorious — The Emperor stays — Marquez and Miramón promise troops, money, and victory — Efforts of the French to induce the Emperor to abdicate — Maximilian's return to Mexico City — Complete rupture with Bazaine — Opposition between Bazaine and Castelnau — The French march out of Mexico City — The Archduchess Sophie's letter — Miramón's victory and defeat — The desperate resolve to go to Querétaro — Napoleon's funeral oration on the Mexican expedition.

IT STILL REMAINED THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN'S MOST deeply cherished wish to remain in Mexico, to keep the imperial crown for which he had striven so hard, and which he had obtained after such efforts and anxieties, and not to lose that sphere of activity for which he had always longed and without which he simply could not exist. His manifold

tribulations had indeed nearly induced him to renounce the crown of Mexico, and forced him to ask himself whether the confusions in Europe, the war and the territorial changes in which it had resulted, might not offer him a substitute for what he had to give up in Mexico. But Charlotte had always been against this plan. What country in Europe could form a substitute for the Mexican Empire? A little principality did not satisfy her ambition. Thus at the last moment she had made every effort to induce her husband to stay on, and had done everything to dissipate his anxieties.

But they were only too well founded. A week after the Empress had left, Maximilian informed the French Minister Dano of his plan.[1] He complained that even now, after the conclusion of the customs convention, the marshal was evacuating the most important places without previous notice, though Bazaine had declared that in the event of its acceptance he would once more proceed to the pacification of the country. Even the port of Vera Cruz was now threatened, and with it the prestige of the French flag. "Has Bazaine instructions for all this?" asked the Emperor. "I shall not leave the country; but what will happen later, if all these disasters are already happening before a single French soldier has left the land?"

The financial disorder was now making itself felt in the most trifling details. The publisher of the official newspaper of the Empire, the *Diario del Imperio,* had often to pay for the paper for the next day's issue out of his own pocket.[2] Nor could Maximilian still bear his anxieties calmly. His failing health suffered from this constant agitation, and also from the effects of the climate, to which his constitution could never adapt itself. His respiratory organs were in good order for the time being, but he was suffering from pains in the stomach and abdomen, frequent attacks of dysentery, and intermittent fever, leaving him at times in a state of apathy and depression, which often seized him at the very time when he had to make some decision of the greatest importance.

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[1] Notice of a conversation between Maximilian and Dano at Chapultepec, August 17, 1866. V. N. A.

[2] E. Masseras: *Un Essai d'empire au Mexique* (Paris, 1879), p. 83.

All the while, the adversaries with whom he was surrounded never ceased to stir up trouble, and deprived him of one resource after another with relentless energy. The United States remained hostile. Washington no sooner heard of the appointment of Osmont and Friant as Maximilian's ministers than they too made official representations on the subject,[3] and observed that this action on the part of Prince Maximilian, "who claims to be Emperor of Mexico (*qui prétend être empereur du Mexique*)," was calculated to imperil the good relations between the United States and France.

These two Frenchmen were sincerely devoted to Maximilian. They felt flattered by the Emperor's praise of their efficient organization of the new army, which was making far better progress under their direction than it had done under Bazaine's.

The marshal stood jealously and enviously aside. He doubted whether this way of employing his officers would be sanctioned by Paris, and took offence because Maximilian showed, by trusting Osmont and Friant, how little confidence he had in the goodwill or the capacity of the marshal. When Friant wanted to authorize the payment of the newly-organized battalions of *cazadores,* Bazaine intervened, and notified him that his position as Finance Minister was incompatible with that of paymaster-general of the French army. Friant did not know what this signified. "What do they really want?" he asked Pierron angrily. "Do they want to overthrow Maximilian? If so, why don't they say so at once?"[4] The paymaster-general thought he would be supported by Randon, the Minister for War, against the marshal, and accordingly continued to exercise his ministerial functions, in spite of Bazaine's clearly expressed disapproval. The latter at last decided that Friant and Osmont should retain their new ministerial positions until the French Government should decide the matter.[5]

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[3] Seward to the Marquis de Montholon, Washington, August 16, 1866; printed in Kératry: *L'Empereur Maximilien* (Leipzig, 1867), p. 185.

[4] Remarks sent to Maximilian by Pierron on his interview with Friant, dated 1866, with no mention of day and month; in V. N. A.

[5] Bazaine to the Emperor Maximilian, September 17, 1866. V. N. A.

He did not know that, as a result of representations from Washington, a notice had already appeared a few days before in the *Moniteur,* saying that Napoleon III and his Government entirely disapproved of the employment of these two officers as Mexican ministers.

In spite of all, the Emperor continued to write optimistic letters to Gutierrez, for instance on September 4.[6] After describing the successful organization of the army by Osmont and Friant, Maximilian continued as follows: " We have none but reactionaries and Liberals here; neither the one party nor the other understands what is meant by a monarchy; none but the new generation will grasp that." Obedience and duty were the indispensable conditions; but in Mexico affairs of state were regarded by everybody as no more nor less than a plaything. The fact that Gutierrez had fine Conservative principles for ever on his lips was merely the result of his many years of political education in Europe. He was a " respectable type of Conservative statesman of the Old World." Gutierrez ought to come to Mexico, as the Emperor had so often advised him, and judge from personal observation; he was always saying that they must change not only persons, but principles. But he never entered into any further details on the subject. " Come out here, my dear friend . . . there will be no pleasanter day to me than that upon which I can embrace you from my heart."

Maximilian went on to assure him that it must not be forgotten that Napoleon's noble plan had received a severe shock from the defeat of the Confederates; this was to be attributed to the weakness of England, which was unwilling to become the ally of the Southern States, even in concert with France. From this dated France's fear of the triumphant United States, and the sudden change in the whole situation. It was shameful to see how old Europe was ignobly abdicating her role in the New World. France was trembling before the United States, and the word was now: " God helps those who help themselves." Nothing but moral support was to be obtained from the French, not even the grant of a few good

[6] The Emperor Maximilian to Gutierrez, September 4, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

military and civil officials and a little money. "Whoever asks any more of France," concluded Maximilian, "is asking for impossibilities, and in politics one ought never to count upon impossibilities, for they bring with them illusions, and these, in turn, bitter disappointments."

Yet how badly Maximilian's actions matched his words! While apparently attacking Gutierrez's principles, he was in reality surrendering to them.

The Emperor's fresh appeal to Gutierrez to come to Mexico fell upon deaf ears. He already heard the framework of the State cracking, and continued to press his sons' financial claims.[7] Although the Emperor saw through him, he still felt himself to be under an obligation to him. For the crown was still very near his heart.

This romantic cast of his mind explains why he so easily allowed his wife to lull him with new hopes, why he put up with the incessant pin-pricks, agitations, and vicissitudes which his situation involved, and why he continued to hope for a favourable issue from the Empress's journey. He was confirmed in this by her reports, upon which he always placed a favourable construction. The attitude of Bazaine and Dano ought to have convinced him that no more was to be hoped for from that quarter. But he doubled his zeal, so as to show that he was prepared to be complaisant towards France in everything. In response to a communication from the Finance Minister Fould, he pointed to the recent signature of the customs convention, which crippled Mexico by depriving her of her only revenues, and declared his determination of making the greatest sacrifices to fulfil his obligations.[8] He no longer depended upon Bazaine; he saw that the latter was leaving him in the lurch, and hoped that his recall was now only a question of days. He thought that by October the "national army" would be able to proceed to the reconquest of the country independently of the marshal, and now tried to obtain the sole disposal of the Foreign Legion, which, in accordance with the Convention of Miramar, was to remain in the country after the departure

[7] Gutierrez to the Emperor Maximilian, Paris, August 21, 1866. V. N. A.
[8] The Emperor Maximilian to Fould, September 8, 1866. V. N. A.

of the French regular troops. The marshal evaded this request,[9] on the ground that it was not certain whether the Convention was still in force, and that they ought first to ask the French Government. He further announced that General Castagny had already reached León, and the troops which had occupied Guaymas and Mazatlán were retiring towards Guadalajara, which amounted to a complete abandonment of the western coast on the Gulf of California, and of north-western Mexico in general. While Maximilian was counting upon the speedy recall of the marshal, the wind had veered round to another quarter in Paris. Almonte's persistence in demanding his recall seemed to have given the impression in Paris that by dutifully identifying himself with Napoleon's policy the marshal had incurred the enmity of the Emperor and Empress of Mexico. Moreover, the French commanders-in-chief of the Mexican expedition had already been changed oftener than was compatible with the prestige of the French army. It was felt that they ought not, by withdrawing Bazaine at the last moment, to give the impression that the French army had been forced to withdraw by military reverses. Supplementary to Napoleon's orders granting a free hand to Bazaine, Randon had therefore written to the marshal on August 15 that he was to stay in Mexico till the departure of the last column.[10] Bazaine had been hurt by the previous proposal for his departure and the projected appointment of his rival Douay, and now hastened to reply that he would remain till the departure of the last soldier in Mexico.

He accordingly felt it to be necessary to do something to improve his strained relations with the Emperor Maximilian, and took advantage of an interview with Theodosio Lares [11] to protest that he had always lived in the greatest harmony with the Emperor, and been ready to help him to secure the order and peace of the Empire. He had never taken sides against the Emperor in his reports. Lares obtained the impression that

[9] Bazaine to the Emperor Maximilian, September 7, 1866. V. N. A.

[10] See Gaulot, op. cit., II. 389.

[11] Theodosio Lares to Father Fischer, Mexico, September 18, 1866. V. N. A.

Bazaine was speaking sincerely, but had no idea what motives had suddenly caused him to act in this way.

On September 16 Maximilian again celebrated Independence Day with brilliant festivities, and took occasion to say that a true Habsburg would never leave his post in time of danger.[12] At that time he knew nothing of the utter failure of the Empress's mission; nor had he received any news from Napoleon since Charlotte's visit. He had received only her letter of August 15, describing the visit of the Empress Eugénie and her own first visit to St. Cloud. Though it contained no good news, there still remained a ray of hope, and Maximilian clung to the sentence in Charlotte's letter: "I therefore trust that something will ultimately be accomplished, for it would certainly be to France's best interest." [13]

By the same post the Emperor received a letter from Count Bombelles in Paris, dated August 15, describing clearly how the fact that the Mexican, Roman, and German questions had simultaneously become acute had caused a very complicated situation. Bombelles gave an accurate picture of the Emperor Napoleon's physical and mental condition. Maximilian's reply was characteristically sanguine: [14]

"I am still quite unable to believe," it ran, "that illness and the needle-gun have so far crushed the poor Emperor Napoleon that he is tottering helpless and perplexed towards the abyss. He will recover his accustomed fortitude; and the cool judgment of the Empress, who stands before him like a living conscience, will succeed in reviving in his sick soul the memory of the sacred duty of abiding by his plighted word. But however that may be, I shall continue steadily and logically upon the way which my high duties and personal dignity make incumbent upon me.

"I have summoned the Conservative elements into the Government, I am appealing confidently to all honourable men

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[12] See Basch: *Erinnerungen aus Mexiko.*

[13] The Empress Charlotte to the Emperor Maximilian, August 15, 1866. V. N. A.

[14] The Emperor Maximilian to Count Bombelles, Chapultepec, September 20, 1866; initialled draft in V. N. A.

in the country, I am acting in a conciliatory spirit towards the bishops, I am patiently enduring the marshal's malicious intrigues, and to my intense satisfaction I meet with the sincerest and most cordial support from the members of my Government. If the country does not abandon itself, and I do not abandon it, let France withdraw her tarnished flags in defiance of the treaties. The naval victory of Lissa filled me with the purest and most heart-felt joy. Old memories revive again; the navy, with my splendid officers, my beloved Dalmatian and Istrian sailors, and the wondrous Adriatic, float once more before my mind's eye, and it is only with difficulty that I can control my grief at the fact that it was not granted to me to give its baptism of fire to the young flag on board the ship that bears my name. But now all that is past, and nothing remains in my soul save the gratifying feeling that I have done my duty."

It was a pity that at that decisive moment Count Bombelles was unable to stay at Maximilian's side, owing to the fact that the Empress was in his care. The Emperor was thus deprived of a cool-headed friend, who might perhaps have succeeded in moderating those influences which now gathered round the wavering Emperor.

He still clung to the idea that the Indian element would help him in his need. He therefore wrote to Bazaine[15] that the more he studied Mexico, the more convinced he became that they must rely upon the Indians, who formed the large majority of the population, and that it was his task to raise this "interesting race" from the state of subjection in which it was maintained by the great landowners. The Emperor had a memorial drawn up on the subject, but he failed to see that his own position was far too weak to carry any measure into effect which might be offensive to the ruling classes, whether Conservative or Liberal.

At this time Maximilian received a letter from Querétaro[16] from Lieutenant-Colonel van der Smissen, the officer commanding the Belgian Legion. This letter for the first time sug-

[15] The Emperor Maximilian to Bazaine, September 20, 1866; draft in V. N. A.
[16] Van der Smissen to the Emperor Maximilian, Querétaro, September 19, 1866. V. N. A.

gested to the Emperor's receptive mind the idea that he might himself take the field at the head of his troops. The Belgian described how, since the evacuation of nearly the whole of the north by the French, Escobedo, at the head of seven or eight thousand "bandits," supported by American filibusters, was plundering the people and announcing that he would soon lead an army of liberation to Mexico City. The Emperor, Van der Smissen advised, ought to organize a division and place himself at the head of it. A great victory won by this means would electrify the nation, revive the waning energies of the Conservatives, and rally thousands of defenders round the throne. "An Austro-Belgian brigade under my command," he wrote, "a Mexican one under that of Colonel Lopez, a brave soldier upon whom Your Majesty can rely, with two battalions of the French Foreign Legion, and Mejía as Chief of the General Staff, would do it. I would beg Your Majesty to allow me to lead the main attack with the Austro-Belgian brigade, and I pledge my word as a man of honour that we should gain a brilliant victory, and that the enemy would lose the whole of his artillery, and at least three thousand prisoners. A great shout of victory would rise from the whole Empire, and Your Majesty would be able to judge of the future of the country from the way in which the Conservative party would rally round the throne. With the three thousand prisoners we should at once organize the *cazadores* of San Luis and Querétaro, which, Sir, will never be formed by the means used at present. For one cannot alter the customs and usages of a people in a day; it takes years to do it, and to try to organize Mexicans out of hand on the model of European troops is a monstrous error, which can only end in failure."

These ideas were all very well, but they revealed an unpardonable optimism. Van der Smissen was aware of the conditions, his troops had often been sorely tried by guerrilla warfare; how did he propose suddenly to find an opportunity for a decisive victory? Even granting the possibility, was it not dividing the spoils somewhat prematurely to talk about their booty, and the troops they intended to form out of the prisoners taken from the enemy? But Maximilian loved that sort

of thing; the letter made a great impression upon him, and he did not forget it. The plan was not feasible for the moment, but a favourable opportunity might occur later.

At first the Emperor desired to keep the French troops, and cabled to the Empress [17] that he knew the French were concerned for the honour of their flag, owing to the loss of Tampico, and that they must be confirmed in this belief by being told that French citizens in the country feared ruin if the evacuation proceeded so fast. The Empress was to inform Napoleon that public opinion in the country was very favourable to the Imperial Government in Mexico, but that Maximilian was not responsible for the military operations.

The telegram had hardly been dispatched when the Emperor received news of an engagement in which the Belgian corps had met with very poor success. In order to give adequate weight to his letter of the 19th, Van der Smissen with his Belgians attacked Ixmiquilpan, which was occupied by strong Juarista forces. Mexicans fighting on the imperialist side went over to the enemy. In spite of their gallant bearing, the Belgians were defeated with heavy losses, six officers were killed, many others were wounded, and Smissen, pursued by the enemy cavalry, had to beat a retreat. The natural result was that throughout wide regions the population rose against the last forces and partisans of the Empire. Van der Smissen had learnt a severe lesson, but the Emperor's position was still further weakened by this reverse.

The Iturbide family also began to bestir itself. In defiance of the agreement, Alice de Iturbide had arrived in Mexico, and begged permission to go to the palace of Chapultepec to see her little son and make representations to the Emperor. Instead of receiving permission, she was suddenly removed from the city in a carriage, and compelled to return. She next applied straight to Seward, informed him that she was in the greatest apprehension as to the fate of her son, and insinuated that he had been taken from her in order to destroy him. Anything was welcome to Seward that might cause embarrass-

[17] Code telegram of the Emperor Maximilian to the Empress Charlotte, September 24, 1866. V. N. A.

ment to Maximilian's Government. He instructed Bigelow, the American Ambassador in Paris, to use his influence with Drouyn de Lhuys to induce him to intervene in the mother's favour. He could not approach Maximilian, he informed her, because he had no relations with the "so-called" Imperial Government in Mexico. The French Government's official answer was that it had no competence to deal with the matter, but Drouyn de Lhuys advised the Emperor to make an end of the whole pact with the Iturbide family. There remained the danger, he said, that the press and public opinion in America would get hold of the affair, would represent Maximilian as robbing a mother of her son, and thus seriously damage the Emperor's prestige.

A letter of Angel Iturbide, dated September 30, also urgently demanded the restoration of the child. The attitude of this family, resident in Paris, should have been a fresh warning to the Emperor that he was being abandoned by France; but he still refused to give up hope, and waited anxiously for the return of the Empress, which was supposed to take place on the steamer leaving on October 15.

Meanwhile Osmont and Friant had been working to the Emperor's satisfaction. The Emperor repeatedly approached Bazaine with the request that they might retain their ministerial office, till Bazaine at last declared that he would concede this, on condition of their resigning their commissions in the French expeditionary force. Osmont and Friant would gladly have remained at the Emperor's side, but they felt themselves bound to yield to the wishes of their commanding officer, and left their posts, though not without annoyance. Once more Maximilian's wrath against Bazaine blazed up. When he had at last found two good and devoted subordinates, they were at once taken from him. In a fit of indignation he composed a letter to Napoleon;[18] he alluded to the opportunity for more frequent exchange of ideas which was offered by the cable, and sent him a cipher code. He then praised the services of Osmont and Friant, with whose successes he had

[18] The Emperor Maximilian to the Emperor Napoleon, Palace of Mexico, September 27, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

been particularly satisfied until they had been forced to resign by Bazaine. He added no detailed comments, for he considered that the facts spoke for themselves.

Maximilian was shortly to learn that it was fruitless for him to appeal to Napoleon. Osmont's resignation at once made itself felt in the very poor progress made by army organization, and on October 1, the day upon which the national army was to have started upon its campaign of reconquest, Maximilian ordered "the good and trusty Colonel Don Miguel Lopez" to explain frankly to Lares, the Minister-President, that army organization was progressing badly, and that false and misleading reports about the progress of the national troops had been sent to the central Government.[19] These facts alarmed Maximilian "more than he could say," to use his own words. The Juaristas had already advanced as far as the mouth of the valley of Mexico, and it was necessary to hold cavalry constantly in readiness in the capital.

But the French were still carrying out their retreat towards the capital unmolested, owing to a tacit understanding with the Juaristas.

On the evening of October 1 the post from Europe arrived. First came two letters from the Empress: that of August 22 from Paris, informing him of her departure and containing the words: "This proves to you that I have accomplished nothing"; [20] and one from the Lake of Como, dated August 26.[21] Furthermore, a cablegram had arrived from the Empress from Miramar, mentioning her departure for Rome, and her intention of returning by the steamer leaving for Mexico on October 15. Maximilian felt that the public must be told something about the Empress's journey. Since he did not want to say anything unfavourable, and had nothing good to say, he had a statement inserted in the official paper on October 2 to the effect that, according to the news which had arrived, the

[19] The Emperor Maximilian to Lares, Cuernavaca, October 1, 1866; "highly urgent and confidential." V. N. A.

[20] See Chapter X, p. 685.

[21] See Chapter X, p. 690.

Empress must have completed her mission. How she had done so was left for the readers to interpret; they were also informed that the Empress was then in Rome, and might be expected at Vera Cruz on November 8 or 10.

But the post of October 1 had also brought other and graver news, and first of all, the clear and unqualified refusal sent by Napoleon as a result of the Empress's visit to Paris. In a letter dated August 29,[22] Napoleon now laid aside all consideration for Maximilian. In almost brutal terms he stated that, painful as it was to him, the time for half measures was past; it was no longer possible to give Mexico another *écu* (crown) or another man. If the Emperor considered that he could maintain himself by his own strength, the troops would remain till 1867, in accordance with the Convention; in the event of his abdication they must take other measures. In this case Napoleon recommended a manifesto, in which should be set forth the insuperable obstacles which forced him to abdicate. Then, while the French army was still present, a national assembly should be summoned to elect a Government which should offer some sort of guarantee of stability. This " remarkable " letter, as Maximilian called it, closed with some general expressions of courtesy, and the assurance that " we ought not to indulge in illusions."

Napoleon wrote to Bazaine on the same date, expressing himself even more clearly.[23] The Emperor made an appeal to him for energy and demanded that he should bring the expedition to an end " in one way or another." If a Government was set up in Mexico, it must guarantee the fulfilment of France's financial claims, and the defence of the rights of her nationals. In case Maximilian stayed, French troops were to be left in Mexico according to the terms of the Convention; otherwise the whole army was to return in the following February. After expressing his disapproval of the " impossible " employment of Osmont and Friant in " Maximilian's service," Napoleon added a postscript, immediately after the reception of the

[22] Napoleon III to the Emperor Maximilian, August 29, 1866; original and copy in V. N. A. Already printed by Ollivier, op. cit., IX. 79.

[23] For the text see Gaulot, op. cit., II. 379.

news of the fall of Tampico, ordering that the withdrawal of troops must be temporarily suspended, until the victors had received their punishment. Bazaine accordingly notified Maximilian at once that his instructions would not allow him to authorize the employment of Osmont and Friant in any capacity whatever in the service of Mexico.[24]

Napoleon's letter produced a crushing effect upon Maximilian. He now realized the full extent of the failure in which the Empress's mission had ended. He studied the document with the closest attention,[25] and talked it over with his "wise friends" Father Fischer and Herzfeld. Fischer had cleverly succeeded in covering up his failure in Rome, so that his influence had increased enormously at this time. He was employed in the Emperor's secretariate, and played a decisive part in all business. If we are to believe the report of his actions which he drew up later,[26] the Emperor pressed him to "assume the control of the business of state," a mission which he declined "with a heavy heart." Father Fischer now advised Maximilian not to hinder the withdrawal of the French army, whose intervention he had for a long time regarded as a misfortune to the country, but to try to arrange that the military supplies and the Belgian and Austrian Legions should be left behind at the disposal of the Mexican Government. With this end in view, he desired to restore a good understanding with Bazaine. He also suggested to the Emperor that he should approach the President of the United States. He submitted to him the draft of a scheme by which a national congress should decide Mexico's future form of government, and all the republican leaders should be invited to lay down their arms and await the decision of the congress. The United States were to help to obtain the consent of these leaders.

In opposition to Father Fischer, Herzfeld roundly advised

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[24] Bazaine to the Emperor Maximilian, October 2, 1866. V. N. A.

[25] The account of the effect produced by this letter is taken from a letter of Maximilian's to the Empress Charlotte, Chapultepec, October 5, 1866. V. N. A.

[26] Report of Father Fischer to Baron Beust on his recent course of action in Mexico, undated, but composed after the catastrophe. V. N. A.

the Emperor to abdicate and leave Mexico. The situation was far too complicated, prospects were most unfavourable, the Emperor's honour, his very life, were at stake. This true servant of Maximilian's gave his advice quite uninfluenced by personal considerations, as an old and true friend of his prince, to whom he had been faithfully devoted since the days when they had sailed the seas together. Father Fischer, on the other hand, was an instrument of the clergy and Conservatives; it was through him that they influenced the Emperor. This insignificant and disreputable priest felt himself to be the arbiter of the destinies of millions. The influence allowed him by the Emperor was beyond all bounds; but it was sure to collapse like a house of cards if Maximilian left Mexico. In that case, the opposition party would seize the helm, and Father Fischer would have to go. He was therefore determined to make every effort to induce the Emperor to stay; his powers of persuasion, his intelligence and energy, served him well for this purpose. Moreover, what he advocated was Maximilian's inmost wish — to remain if it should be in any way possible, and to retain the crown.

But Maximilian also intended to take the advice of the British Minister, Campbell-Scarlett, "whom he had recently found most cordial and honourable." [27] He had decided to announce in a proclamation that he would leave his future destiny to a national assembly, whose pronouncement, as the free decision of the nation, he would await in a quiet and dignified way at Orizaba. He intended to go to Vera Cruz to meet the Empress, and then to Orizaba, where all his faithful adherents were to assemble, with Fischer at their head. The Emperor's valuables were also to be conveyed there. "If the nation pronounces in favour of the Empire," wrote the Emperor to his wife, "we shall return to the capital with legitimate and untrammelled power, and devote and sacrifice ourselves to the country for ever; if the nation desires another form of government, we shall retire with dignity, with the pure and elevating consciousness of having done our duty honourably. As to the rest God will be judge, and I trustfully submit to His will. In

[27] Maximilian to Charlotte, October 5, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

a few weeks' time, joy of my life, I hope to press you to my suffering heart! Your ever faithful Max."

Maximilian thanked the Emperor Napoleon most heartily for his "friendly reception" of Charlotte, by which the Empress wrote that she had been "quite touched"! But for the present, he said, his conscience did not allow him to arrive at a definitive decision. For the rest, he assured him "of his lively sympathy and incontestable attachment."[28] This letter was not sincere; it showed once more that Maximilian still desired to avoid a personal breach with Napoleon.

Bazaine now seemed to be sorry for Maximilian, for he could not fail to see what fate was in store for him. Though he had previously advised Napoleon to throw Maximilian over regardless of everything, and had perhaps felt a certain malicious joy in the thought of how his successor and the Emperor would deal with the situation, yet, now that Maximilian was to be left to his own devices, he began to feel serious scruples. He therefore wrote to the Emperor on October 8[29] that he believed that, if Maximilian persisted in staying in the country after the departure of the French troops, the result might be a catastrophe.

Eloin's advice to the Emperor agreed with that of Fischer.[30] He was deeply convinced, he wrote, that to abandon the enterprise before the departure of the French would be regarded as weakness; when once the Mexican people was freed from French pressure, it should be consulted as to whether it desired Maximilian to remain. If not, he could return to Europe with honour, and would play a worthy part in the events which were developing there. For the Emperor Francis Joseph was losing heart, the people were openly demanding his abdication, all sympathies were turning towards Maximilian, and even Venetia was thinking of its former Governor-General. Maximilian learnt of Eloin's highly intimate and confidential letter,

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[28] The Emperor Maximilian to Napoleon III, Chapultepec, October 8, 1866; draft in V. N. A. Printed in Ollivier, op. cit., IX. 84.

[29] See A. de Schrynmakers: *Le Mexique* (Brussels, 1882), p. 317.

[30] Eloin to the Emperor Maximilian, Brussels, September 17, 1866; frequently printed, among others by Lefèvre, op. cit., II. 345.

which contained, among other things, painful details about the state of Napoleon's health, from the American newspapers! The letter had been intercepted and at once published with glee. Eloin's letter caused the most painful surprise in Paris, and especially in Vienna. All things seemed to be conspiring against the sorely tried monarch.

But Napoleon's conscience was also pricking him. Complaints about Bazaine were reaching him from all quarters. The marshal had not succeeded in making himself popular with the expeditionary force. The letters written to their relatives in Paris by both officers and men contained innumerable complaints of him, and even the childish reproach that he was aiming at the crown of Mexico himself, at the instigation of his young Mexican wife. General Douay had also continued his intrigues against the marshal, and the tone of his letters and reports continued to be highly unfavourable to him. Many of these unofficial reports reached Napoleon's ears.

The reasons which had previously led him to leave Bazaine in enjoyment of his command were still valid, but the Emperor's distrust of him had recently revived. He accordingly resolved to send to Mexico Brigadier-General Castelnau, one of his aides-de-camp, with full powers of such an extensive order as to empower him even to annul Bazaine's orders in the Emperor's name, and insist upon his returning to France. None the less, in the letter in which Napoleon announced the general's mission to Bazaine, he assured the latter of his continued goodwill, and of the fact that his personal responsibility remained unimpaired. The dispatch of Castelnau was a half measure, which only increased the existing confusion. Castelnau's instructions were, in the main, that he was to work towards carrying into effect the Emperor's letter of August 29, and to make it clear to Maximilian that he was in earnest in the intention there expressed of ceasing all assistance. The general was to find out what Maximilian's future procedure was likely to be, to influence him in the direction of abdication, and then to try to obtain a Government as favourable to French interests as possible.[31]

[31] For detailed account see Ollivier, op. cit., IX. 89 et seq.

On October 12 Castelnau arrived at Vera Cruz. He was to give Maximilian as the reason for Napoleon's decision the state of France's foreign relations, which compelled her to hold her forces ready for any emergency. He accordingly stated to the Mexicans who received him that it was true that Napoleon had promised that the French troops were to stay till November 1867, but that this had been consented to at a time when peace prevailed in Europe, and that conditions were now changed. Since Prussia's victory over Austria, the victorious power had drawn closer to Russia; and Prussia and Russia, with a million and a half men between them, were threatening France, which for the time being could dispose of only 390,000 men. Napoleon was therefore compelled to hasten the withdrawal of his troops. As in Napoleon's letters to Maximilian, there was no mention of the United States and their threats. It was felt in Paris that the pressure exerted from this quarter was a humiliation, and there was consequently unwillingness to mention it. Castelnau alleged that he was in no way empowered to force Maximilian to abdicate, which was literally true, but did not prevent him, in accordance with Napoleon'e wishes, from trying every means to induce the Mexican Emperor to do so.[32]

It was with mixed feelings that Bazaine received the young brigadier-general who had thus been placed above him, a marshal of France. But the marshal was above all an obedient soldier. He was not the man to express indignation at this proceeding on the part of his sovereign, insulting as it was. He also intended at all costs to make it impossible that on his return to France the responsibility for the failure should be ascribed to him. His reception of the aide-de-camp was outwardly irreproachable, if somewhat embarrassed, and he kept his annoyance to himself.

On October 18 the Emperor Maximilian received two telegrams,[33] one from Castillo in Rome, announcing the Empress's serious condition, and the other from Count Bombelles at

[32] Report to the Emperor Maximilian, October 15, 1866. V. N. A.

[33] See Wilhelm von Montlong: *Authentische Enthüllungen über die letzten Ereignisse in Mexiko* (Stuttgart, 1868), p. 27.





THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN'S
PIPE AND WATCH

Miramar, to the effect that the Empress Charlotte had arrived there accompanied by her physicians, and that they had not yet given up all hope. The Emperor, who was again suffering from an attack of fever, was deeply affected by this news. The state of the Empress's health had been described in Eloin's last letter as excellent; he also had counted upon a success even at the last moment. The terrible truth was not fully revealed in the telegrams. They only mentioned that Dr. Riedel, the Viennese physician, had been summoned to Miramar. The Emperor asked his own body-physician whether he knew Dr. Riedel. "He is the director of the lunatic asylum," answered Basch innocently.[34] The truth was then evident.

Despair now seized the monarch, whose health had been weakened by disease, and whose constitution had already been gravely impaired, though outwardly he appeared healthy enough. The Emperor and Empress had always loved each other deeply and sincerely, and anxiety and grief at her consort's illnesses may have contributed in no small degree towards the Empress's mental derangement. In Charlotte Maximilian lost his closest friend and support in evil days. He had too weak a nature to make up his own mind and bear all responsibility alone. To remove his support was to abandon him entirely to that hesitation to which his nature was prone. Under the terrible impression of the news of Charlotte's tragic derangement Maximilian collapsed. It had been she who had induced him to stay in the country by the assurance that she would obtain assistance from Paris and Rome. Now all this was a vain illusion, and the shattered Emperor listened in his deep distress to Herzfeld, who begged him more and more insistently to leave the country.

On the evening of the 18th his mind was made up. Herzfeld at once notified the commander of the Austrian corvette *Dandolo,* preparations for the journey were begun in Mexico City, and the Emperor wrote to Bazaine that he was going to Orizaba, since the poor state of his health called for a milder climate, and there he could more quickly receive the news which he was awaiting from Miramar. Herzfeld appealed to

[34] See Dr. S. Basch: *Erinnerungen aus Mexiko* (Leipzig, 1868), I. 47.

Count Rességuier to do his utmost to see that a suitable sailing-ship was at Vera Cruz, to take the Emperor, with his suite of fourteen persons and the valuables that had been conveyed to Vera Cruz, to Europe. Rességuier was to observe the strictest secrecy in the matter. The Emperor Maximilian had arranged this so as to be sure of being able to leave the country even in case the commander of the Austrian corvette received instructions not to take him on board, in view of the rumours that the Emperor of Austria had not sanctioned his return, and of the indiscretions contained in Eloin's letter about Francis Joseph. Rességuier undertook the task with his accustomed fidelity. He had felt his absence from the court of Maximilian bitterly, but he had never failed to devote himself to his Emperor's interests, and had hurried to him at the first summons. He soon succeeded in finding the clipper *Maria,* and was ready to send it to Vera Cruz.

Maximilian had now no further objection to restoring little Iturbide to his mother, and had a letter written to her on October 20 to this effect.[35]

The proceedings at the Imperial Court aroused consternation among Conservative circles in the capital. For the most important of them were kept informed of the course of affairs by Father Fischer. Fischer saw all his plans for the future trembling in the balance. When the Emperor informed him of his decision, the priest — to quote his own pretentious words — "expressed his disapproval frankly and unequivocally."[36] The Jesuit was especially indignant that such a decision had been arrived at without consulting him previously. He also considered that it was impossible for the Emperor to leave the country without setting in order the thousand and one matters which still awaited a settlement, deciding upon the relations between the Austrian and Belgian Legions, and doing something for his adherents; it was neither in accordance with the Emperor's dignity nor his honour to — run away like this. The

[35] The Emperor Maximilian to Alice and Josefa Iturbide, October 20, 1866. V. N. A. The little Iturbide was brought to Europe, where he went to live in Hungary, and married a Baroness Mikosch.

[36] Report of Father Fischer to Beust. V. N. A.

Emperor pondered over the priest's reproaches, but, thanks to the effect produced by the news of the Empress's mental derangement, the opposite party still prevailed, and he persisted in his resolve to depart for Orizaba. But Fischer was not the man to give in so easily; there would still be a long way to go to the port of departure, and the monarch intended to stay a considerable time at Orizaba. This still left him the opportunity of exerting his influence.

As soon as the Conservative ministry saw the turn matters were taking, it at once resigned. Fischer, however, succeeded in convincing the ministers that, in view of the Emperor's character, they need not yet give up their cause for lost, though it was gravely compromised for the moment. Bazaine too urged the ministers to remain in office. He was anxious that chaos should set in, and the dictatorship be entrusted to himself. The Cabinet therefore withdrew its resignation.

Meanwhile a proclamation was drawn up [37] in which it was stated that the conflicts and dissensions in the country had made union impossible, that God had weakened the Emperor's strength, by the ruin of his happiness through the Empress's illness, and that, as a true and honourable man, he was therefore unwilling to prolong a situation the further continuance of which must merely aggravate the evils which weighed upon Mexico. A regency would be established which should carry on the government until the Congress had come to a decision. The proclamation was not published for the present.

Morally and physically broken, the Emperor started on his way to Orizaba on October 20. Now that he had inwardly renounced all further ideas of domination in Mexico, his severe laws against his political opponents weighed heavily upon his mind. He begged Bazaine at once to give orders to the courts-martial to suspend their functions, to annul the law of October 3, and to cease all political persecution — in fact, all hostilities whatsoever. It so happened that General Castelnau, on his way towards Mexico City, arrived at one of the halts at the same time as Maximilian. The general asked for an audience, but Maximilian would not receive him. In the

[37] Draft of a proclamation dated November 20, 1866. V. N. A.

circumstances of the moment such an explanation could not but be painful; he had resolved upon abdication; he was ill and crushed, and had no desire to enter upon an interview which would be most unpleasant and lead to no result. He meant to have peace, and hear no more of all that lay behind him. He therefore did not see the general, and continued his journey. During the night they spent at Aculcingo the six white mules that drew the Emperor's carriage were stolen. That anyone should have dared such a thing shows what the conditions were like; but it also shows clearly that nearly everybody regarded the end of the Empire as certain, and considered that the Emperor's journey signified his final abandonment of the country, though nothing had yet been officially divulged.

But a surprise awaited him at Orizaba, where the Emperor had made many friends during his frequent visits. At the station before, he had already been given to understand that an ovation was being planned for him. It was arranged by the Conservatives, and hastily got up by Father Fischer. Since time was required for the organization of the reception, the Jesuit had succeeded in making them spend seven days on the way to Orizaba, on the pretext that, in the weak state of his health, the Emperor must not be overtired. Now everything went off splendidly. The priest knew how sensitive the Emperor was to patriotic demonstrations; now was the time to flatter his vanity and desire for popularity, so as to get him into that state of mind which alone held out any hope of inducing him to change his decision.

The plan succeeded; when Maximilian heard of the reception that had been arranged for him, he ordered his French escort to remain behind — though he would never have reached Orizaba safe and sound without them — and rode into the town accompanied by none but the smallest suite, to be received by the Conservatives with demonstrations of joy. From the first he had endeavoured to show himself in public as rarely as possible surrounded by Frenchmen, so as not to wound the national sentiment of the Mexicans. Now that France had left him in the lurch, he had naturally still greater reasons for so doing.

Pierron's activities, too, were more or less at an end, though in name he was still head of the secretariate.

The Emperor Maximilian had a feeling that Pierron was really devoted to him, and he therefore meant to provide for his future. Among the many farewell letters which he wrote at that time, but never sent off, was one to Napoleon III, which was exclusively concerned with Pierron, and recommended him to the Emperor's good offices.[38] " During the two years," wrote Maximilian, " that this officer has spent at my side, he has amazed me by his wonderful culture and rare firmness of character, which neither good nor ill fortune could change. I can only congratulate myself upon his intelligent assistance, and the thoroughness of his knowledge in the most varied branches."

But for the rest Maximilian intended to tolerate no Frenchmen in his entourage any longer, and he had therefore not taken even Pierron with him to Orizaba. The Frenchman had recently displayed a bitter hatred for the Emperor's new counsellors, Herzfeld and Fischer. He now sent telegram after telegram to Maximilian from Mexico City, and kept him informed of the ideas of Bazaine, Dano, and Castelnau. All three of them considered the situation untenable, and feared that, as soon as the abdication took place, a furious civil war would break out, even before the French expeditionary corps had left. In order to obviate this, what was necessary was a request on the part of France and Mexico for the mediation of the United States, which was, however, a somewhat doubtful step, owing to the sympathy of the Americans for a republican Liberal regime. But if the Emperor meant to establish a regency, and Bazaine were chosen, Castelnau would at most allow this for a fortnight, after which it must be taken over by three Mexicans, possibly Don Luis Mendez, Linares, and Don Luis Robles.

His brilliant reception in Orizaba did not shake the

[38] The Emperor Maximilian to Napoleon III, draft, November 8, 1866. Pierron actually fell out with Bazaine, who even placed him on the retired list for a time. Napoleon III afterwards took him as one of his own orderly officers, and he was in the Emperor's personal entourage during the campaign of 1870. V. N. A.

Emperor's resolution. The preparations for his journey were continued. Chest after chest full of the Emperor's private property and secret achives found their way on board the *Dandolo,* the captain of which was given orders to coal his ship and hold himself in readiness. Maximilian wrote to Colonel Kodolitsch, who had taken over the command of the Austrians after Thun's departure, that he was to sell the Austrian artillery, which was the Emperor's private property, and use the money for the benefit of the disabled officers and men of the corps.[39]

Herzfeld continued to support the Emperor in this course of action; he had come to Mexico only to help save his friend the Emperor, from whom he had received nothing but benefits, and for whom he felt both gratitude and affection. On arriving in Mexico he had found the position even more hazardous than he had judged it to be while in Europe, and had again redoubled his efforts under the influence of the gloomy reports from Paris and Rome. So far Maximilian had listened to him. This prompted Father Fischer to make a determined attack upon the unbidden guest. The Jesuit was resolved to supplant him, and urged the Emperor to send him on ahead " to prepare the way for his return journey."

The Emperor again began to hesitate. He kept asking everybody in his entourage for an opinion; for instance, his newly-appointed body-physician, Dr. Samuel Basch, who advised him to do nothing in a hurry, and as far as possible to make all arrangements quietly in advance.[40] Basch did not yet know the Emperor well enough, and did not realize that, given the Emperor's unstable character and his inward desire to retain his sovereignty, every fresh postponement was dangerous to his resolution. Bilimek, the director of the Museum, was also consulted; in short everybody had to give advice, whereas one person alone ought to have examined the whole situation clearly, and then, having announced his firm and irrevocable decision, should have carried it into effect — Maximilian himself.

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[39] The Emperor Maximilian to Colonel Kodolitsch, Imperial Camp at Orizaba, October 31, 1866; initialled draft in V. N. A.

[40] Basch, op. cit., p. 49.

Father Fischer was clever enough to work upon the Emperor's sense of honour by always alluding ostentatiously to their departure as a "flight." This now began to produce its effect. The Emperor began to consider what an unenviable position he would occupy on his return home, and suddenly withdrew his confidence from Herzfeld. He agreed to send him on ahead. Father Fischer managed so to arrange matters that the Emperor never saw him again. Resigned and unhappy, but quite unaware that Fischer was behind it all, Herzfeld started on his homeward journey. Even from Havana he tried to make a last attempt and wrote — to Fischer![41]

"Most reverend Sir:

"I hope that this letter will find you no longer upon Mexican soil — every hour's delay involves the gravest danger — the pretexts upon which the Emperor is staying on are idle. *Away, away from this country, which in a few weeks' time will be the scene of the bloodiest of civil wars.* The storm is gathering on all sides — the Yankees are invading the land; Miramón is making a *pronunciamiento* at Campeche, it is only a question of days before the most appalling fratricidal war blazes up — Urge the Emperor to leave at all costs — I have obeyed the Emperor, because my presence was useless, or even harmful — I could never manage to see the Emperor again; knew nothing more, was suddenly in disgrace, without having done the slightest thing to deserve it. Only a few more hours, and I should have fulfilled the task which I had set before me in Europe, and carried out consistently and with energy in Mexico for fours months — But that is not what troubles me — I have never reckoned upon gratitude, all that I am concerned with is the liberty and safety of the Emperor — the completion of the work is now allotted to you by Providence — Do you save our poor, noble master — Austria, Europe, the imperial house, will owe you their gratitude. Be firm — Do not let yourself be influenced from Mexico — you have faithfully fulfilled your duty to the priesthood, do you now fulfil your duties of religion, save the Emperor, the man —

"I am awaiting the news of the departure in New York, and

[41] Herzfeld to Father Fischer, Havana, November 5, 1866. V. N. A.

shall then act upon my own responsibility, as the Emperor's best interests demand.

"Do you support me, defend me, against unjust accusations, as I have always done for you. Do you know that I was to have been arrested by the French — I had Pierron to thank for that — Farewell, and think kindly of

"Your devoted friend Herzfeld."

Father Fischer read the letter with a quiet smile, and set it aside. He had had an easy task in deceiving this man. He now took Herzfeld's removal, and an improvement which had meanwhile taken place in the Emperor's physical condition, as a good sign. On October 30 Fischer had also been appointed assistant to the principal chamberlain, and entrusted with the control of all the Emperor's personal affairs. But he had not yet reached the goal of his desires. Maximilian went on writing farewell letters to everybody, almost all of them opening with the words: "On the eve of leaving our beloved fatherland. . . ." He had already composed the telegram to the Archduchess Sophie expressing his deep gratitude for the letter he had received from her, and announcing that, after a sad and touching parting from Mexico, he had sailed for Europe. For the time being it was not sent, nor was a letter to Bazaine, in which the marshal was requested to embark the Belgian and Austrian corps at the same time,[42] to secure her pension to the Princess Josefa Iturbide, and two months' more pay and the promise of soon finding fresh employment to the staff of the secretariate, and, finally, to settle the business of the civil list. Colonel Kodolitsch was to direct the embarkation of the Austrian volunteers.

Though Bazaine never received this letter, he was convinced from all else that he heard that the Emperor would now leave the country for good, and would no longer have to be reckoned with. He must accordingly obey Napoleon's instructions to establish a Government in Mexico which should be as favourable to French interests as possible. In accordance with the views of the Government in Paris on the subject, he considered

[42] Maximilian to Bazaine, November 5, 1866; draft.

any negotiations with Juarez impossible and discreditable. He wanted to set up a prominent Liberal leader in opposition to Juarez, until he could call upon him to form a Government. Pierron objected that it was less costly and difficult to maintain the Empire than to found a new Government, but the marshal answered shortly that Maximilian was going to sail on the night of November 7–8. The marshal now approached various of the Juarista leaders, but they refused to treat with him, till on October 27 he had a meeting with Riva Palacio, which, however, led to no result.[43] The marshal afterwards thought of open negotiations with Porfirio Diaz, whom he had taken prisoner at the beginning of 1865 at Oaxaca, but who had escaped. Castelnau had been advised in Paris to approach General Ortega, who was known to be an enemy of Juarez. But he had already made himself impossible, so the only alternative was to approach a friend of the President's.

The partisans of Juarez now won a series of victories, and began to grow bolder. Porfirio Diaz had just annihilated a column of imperialist troops which had pushed out against him from Oaxaca. Krickl, a major in the Austrian Legion, had been sent by Bazaine to the aid of the garrison of Oaxaca with some eight hundred Austrian and Mexican troops, so as to bring away the detachments which were left there, but with no orders to hold the town. Bazaine had French troops at his disposal, but he no longer wanted to use them on active service, and so sent out this small column against the victorious Porfirio Diaz, who had six times as many men. While the major[44] was still on the way there, however, he received definite orders from the Emperor to continue to hold Oaxaca, and to take over the command of the garrison. But he never reached it. He succumbed to an attack by Porfirio Diaz near Carbonera. The Austrians were by now largely demoralized, the officers sacrificed themselves loyally to their duty, the Mexicans broke down entirely. "The Austrian corps," wrote Krickl, "has been left to itself since General Thun's departure,

[43] Pierron to the Emperor Maximilian, Mexico, October 25, 1866. V. N. A.

[44] Major Karl Krickl to his brother Julius, Tehuacan, November 21, 1866, from the documents in the possession of Herr Rechtsanwalt Dr. Krickl, Vienna.

everybody and nobody has been in command." The French no longer co-operated with them, but spared themselves. In such conditions there could be no further idea of carrying on the war. The enemies of the Empire were raising their heads still more boldly. In an order of the day issued by the American General Sheridan, who was in command on the frontier, all Maximilian's partisans were called filibusters. Even respect for the French now began to disappear in the capital.

A fantastic piece was put on at a theatre at that time, in which figured Napoleon, Maximilian, Juarez, and their partisans. The Juaristas were applauded, but the Emperor and his paladins, and above all Napoleon, had insults and threats showered upon them. Bazaine made the Minister of Justice close the theatre and remove the Minister of Police, by threatening that otherwise he would close it himself. Such incidents embittered the relations between the marshal and the authorities, who were indignant at such encroachments by one who was on the point of leaving the country.

Such were the immediate results of the Emperor's departure. Men deserted in thousands, or played a double game. A few brave and true men held out till the last.

Maximilian had been overjoyed at his reception at Orizaba, and now the glorious climate and the natural beauty of the place did the rest. The Emperor's health improved, and he began to recover his spirits. The Conservative ministers redoubled their efforts to induce the Emperor to stay. Theodosio Lares represented to him the fate which awaited his adherents if he left the country,[45] and reminded him of the words he had uttered on Independence Day: that he was prepared to make any sacrifice for the nation and the independence of the country, and that he would not run away, for a Habsburg did not flee in time of danger. Lares also recalled the oath which Maximilian had taken at Miramar. "What would the world say, what would history say," he exclaimed, "if it were not fulfilled?"

Arroyo,[46] the Minister of the Imperial Household, also

[45] Theodosio Lares to the Emperor Maximilian, October 26, 1866. V. N. A.
[46] Arroyo to the Emperor Maximilian, November 4, 1866. V. N. A.

tried to influence the Emperor in this sense. It was not Castelnau's mission, he said, to induce the Emperor to resign, and Bazaine still regarded himself as the first soldier of the Empire until his departure. The ministry was of the opinion that the situation could be saved with the forces left to them and by a loan; the Emperor should return to the capital. Dislike of the French was increasing every day, but so were the evidences of personal loyalty to Maximilian. "If Your Majesty were to leave us, it would be a terrible misfortune for the people."

Maximilian was indeed in a difficult position. He received contradictory reports from all quarters. Another letter of Pierron's [47] had just arrived, the contents of which appeared to be based upon information from Bazaine, Dano, and Castelnau. "Sir," wrote the captain, "since the rumour has spread through the city that Your Majesty is returning to the capital, I have been informed of the Emperor Napoleon's latest decisions. They are definitive, and lay down categorically that Your Majesty is to be refused all help of any kind by the French authorities. There appears to be the strongest desire that Your Majesty should withdraw and abdicate, and negotiate on this basis with the United States.

"I have tried to find out more about the matter, and have been given to understand that they would not shrink from even more decided measures. My devotion, which I beg Your Majesty to believe nothing has been able to shake, has prompted me to inform Your Majesty on the spot of what I have just learnt from an official source.

"Edouard Pierron, Chief of the Secretariate"

Whether the young captain really had the right to address such a grave letter to the Emperor must remain an open question. It certainly reflected the ideas of influential French personages. But the Emperor was not likely to yield to threats. He still wavered, but his hopes revived. The population of Orizaba was attached to him, and when he went about the lovely country in the neighbourhood with Dr. Bilimek, he was

[47] Edouard Pierron to the Emperor Maximilian, October 31, 1866. V. N. A.

met with friendly greetings. Owing to his lively interest in animals and plants, his excursions took the form of regular scientific explorations, which caused the inhabitants some astonishment. The Emperor's spirits improved visibly; the mild climate did him good, and his intercourse with the British Minister Campbell-Scarlett confirmed him in the idea of remaining at his post.

Maximilian had shown Campbell-Scarlett Napoleon's last letter,[48] but he had interpreted the remarks contained in it about summoning a national assembly in the sense that the Assembly was to decide whether the Emperor was to go or stay, whereas the context made it plain that Napoleon only meant it to decide what the new Government was to be. The minister agreed with Maximilian's interpretation, and advised him not to leave the country before the National Assembly had given its decision. " Whatever Your Majesty may do," he said, " you must first and foremost follow Napoleon III's advice." Campbell-Scarlett regarded this as the only course [49] compatible with the Emperor's dignity, especially since the Juaristas were spreading the report everywhere that he had fled. The minister even observed that before leaving the capital he had had an interview with Castelnau, who appeared to expect the Emperor to return to Mexico City. As we know, Castelnau had no such idea; he had obviously not thought fit to tell Campbell-Scarlett the whole truth. Moreover, the minister was careful to observe to the Emperor that he was only expressing his own personal opinion, for he had received instructions from home not to interfere, and to give no advice. But this did not prevent him from advising the Emperor, or even from writing Father Fischer a letter marked " Private " [50] on November 6. " I am really very much amazed," it ran, " at having heard a report several times yesterday that the Emperor had resolved upon a premature abdication. History will show that His Majesty has been the victim of an intrigue which he lacked the resolution to escape or crush. I am convinced that even the Dissident

[48] See p. 729.

[49] Campbell-Scarlett to Maximilian, Orizaba, November 3, 1866. V. N. A.

[50] Campbell-Scarlett to Fischer, Orizaba, November 6, 1866. V. N. A.

party among the Mexicans, who prefer the Government of Juarez to that of the Empire, will regard this step as unnecessarily precipitate. It is, moreover, by no means sure as yet whether, if His Majesty follows Napoleon's advice to appeal to the country first, the Mexican people will not decide to maintain the Empire, if its organization proceeds hand in hand with the cessation of French intervention, to which everybody in the country is opposed. It is quite certain that after the departure of the French a strong party would prefer to rally round the imperial flag, so as to save Mexico from being rent asunder by a civil war and its consequences."

This letter was grist to Fischer's mill; he at once hurried to the Emperor and laid it before him. The Emperor now postponed his departure from Orizaba for a few days. Father Fischer took this as a good sign, and rubbed his hands with satisfaction; he must and would triumph.

The Emperor had just initialled farewell communications, dated November 8, to Pedro Escudero and Fernando Ramirez, when a communication came from Pierron which agitated him greatly. The captain suddenly wrote on November 7 that he had heard that the Austrian Minister had been instructed to state in an official note that the Austrian Government would not allow Maximilian to go to Miramar or any other place in Austria.[51] On the following day Pierron corrected this report by adding [52] that the Austrian Government would forbid Maximilian to enter Austria if as Emperor of Mexico he allowed his diplomatic agent to distribute a circular claiming a contingent right of succession in Austria. But should he be prepared to return simply as archduke, nobody would put any obstacles in his way. The Belgian Minister, he said, had advised that the presentation of this note should be delayed for four days.

Maximilian waited in vain for the presentation of the note, but he had no doubt that Pierron's communications had some foundation in fact. This heightened the uneasiness which he already felt at the mere fact of his return to Austria. In reality

[51] Pierron to the Emperor Maximilian, November 7, 1866. V. N. A.
[52] The same to the same, November 8, 1866. V. N. A.

no such instructions had reached the Austrian Legation.[53] Baron Lago heard from Father Fischer of this letter of Pierron's, and afterwards reported the incident to Vienna with the remark that they could see what instruments one had to work with.[54] Father Fischer also took advantage of Pierron's letter to influence the Emperor in accordance with his own ideas. But the fact that, in spite of his unremitting efforts, Fischer had not yet obtained what he wanted, shows that his influence over the Emperor was no longer so secure. Maximilian had been informed from various quarters that all Fischer had formerly said about his successes in Rome had been false, and his own observation showed him the truth of this. And so the Emperor was still wavering, when suddenly two powerful new allies appeared for the priest.

Generals Marquez and Miramón, who were Conservatives of the purest water, and had therefore been sent to Europe on the pretext of a diplomatic mission at the time when Maximilian was trying to govern with the Liberals, had been recalled under the Conservative Government, and had just arrived by the packet-boat on November 10. They at once espoused the Conservative cause. Miramón endeavoured to induce the Emperor to stay, by offering the services of himself and General Marquez. Yet still the Emperor did not abandon his resolve to depart. The head chamberlain continued to receive orders to dismantle the imperial establishment, as well as for the sale of his property and of such furniture as could not be removed.

A letter was also sent to Bazaine,[55] in which the Emperor asked for assurances as to the transport to Europe of the two volunteer corps, the payment of pensions to the disabled men of these corps, remittances to the members of the Iturbide

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[53] Nothing of the sort was to be found in the secret instructions to the Austrian Legation in Mexico. It is possible that some unguarded remark on the part of Baron Lago, who is represented as being not very able, and hostile to Maximilian, had given rise to it; yet Pierron's grave communication was, to say the least of it, based on frivolous grounds.

[54] Baron Lago to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Vienna, January 17, 1867. V. N. A.

[55] The Emperor Maximilian to Bazaine, November 12, 1866; see Kératry, op. cit., p. 238.

family, and so forth. The marshal, Dano, and Castelnau hastened to respond to this request. In the belief that in this letter Maximilian was expressing his last wishes, they even declared that, in case all debts could not be met, they would try to arrange for their settlement by "the new Government of Mexico." This was somewhat premature, and hurt Maximilian, and once more aroused in him the desire to show these Frenchmen, who were to blame for everything, that he could get on without them. All Frenchmen were now banished from the Emperor's entourage, which became almost entirely Francophobe.

The British Minister in particular lost no opportunity of putting a spoke in their wheel. He even accepted at their face value the rumours spread by the papers that France had sold Mexico to the United States in exchange for the recognition of all French financial claims by Juarez's Government. He thought [56] that Maximilian would have been able to obtain the recognition of the Empire by President Johnson by a sacrifice of money and Mexican territory, but had refused to perform such an act of treason to his country: the Emperor ought therefore to ignore any proclamation of the kind, and protest against any sacrifice of Mexican territory to the United States. Such a proceeding on the part of France did indeed justify the Emperor's abdication, but he was still of the opinion that it would redound more to the Emperor's credit if he performed his final acts in the capital. Campbell-Scarlett's assertion that France was contemplating a cession of Mexican territory to the United States was inaccurate. If the United States had wanted to occupy any, it would certainly no longer have needed the consent of France.

The Emperor still wavered, though his resolve to abdicate had been seriously shaken by the counsels of Miramón, Marquez, and Fischer, and not least by those of the English Minister, and, finally, by the insulting conduct of the representatives of France.

The greatest dissatisfaction prevailed among the Austrian volunteer corps, which had suffered severely at Jalapa on

[56] Campbell-Scarlett to Father Fischer, Orizaba, November 16, 1866. V. N. A.

October 25, was receiving its pay irregularly, and, as the incident at Carbonera had shown, had henceforward to bear the brunt of the fighting. When Colonel Kodolitsch was appointed to the command in November, he appealed to Maximilian for support, "so as at least to avert a lamentable failure," [57] in view of the heavy demands made upon the corps, and the discontent prevailing in it. Bazaine had promised to concentrate the Austro-Belgian troops and allow them to operate more in co-operation with French columns, but little trust was placed in him. But Kodolitsch had assured Bazaine and Castelnau that the whole corps would support the Emperor.

Contrary to his expectation, the corps sent a deputation to the Emperor to lay their grievances before him and request that the Legion should be disbanded. Colonel Kodolitsch discovered this, and hastily wrote to the Emperor [58] requesting him to refuse to receive the deputation; at all costs the commanding officer's position and prestige must be maintained. How the situation was regarded in the corps can be seen from a letter written home by a staff officer.[59] "The Emperor," it runs, "is surrounded at Orizaba by arrant adventurers and swindlers, and is at present entirely in the hands of the clerical party. Generals Miramón and Marquez, who belong to this party, flatter him with vain hopes. The Emperor is undecided what he ought to do; he has fallen out with the French; one day he wants to return to Mexico City in spite of them, the next day he wants to sail for home. All this increases the prevailing confusion — in my opinion it would be best for him to go, the fall of the Empire can indeed be postponed, but not prevented; for the Emperor has quarrelled with all parties." This judgment was correct.

The Emperor now adopted the expedient of appealing to a "council" before his final abdication. On November 18 an invitation was therefore sent to Bazaine to assemble all the ministers and the Council of State in a conference at Orizaba,

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[57] Colonel Kodolitsch to the Emperor Maximilian, November 24, 1866. V. N. A.
[58] The same to the same, November 21, 1866. V. N. A.
[59] Major Karl Krickl to Julius Krickl, Tehuacan, November 21, 1866, papers in the possession of Dr. Krickl, Vienna.

to consider the subject of the future Government. Bazaine was afraid of being saddled with an unwelcome dictatorship, and begged to be excused. All the other persons invited, twenty-three in number, and all of them Conservatives, accepted the summons, following the lead of the Minister-President Lares.

The members arrived at Orizaba on November 24. Since the Emperor was taking no personal part in the deliberations, he addressed an autograph letter to the assembly, in which the reasons for his decision to abdicate were set forth, but at the end of which was expressed his readiness to make whatever sacrifices might conduce to the good of Mexico. Lares seized upon this phrase to announce to the assembly that even at the last moment the Emperor was ready to take their opinion.[60] In spite of the composition of the assembly, eleven members voted for an entire abdication, the others partly against it, and partly in favour of postponing it until the interests of the partisans of the Empire should be secured. Lares was displeased with this result, and loaded the Emperor with promises and flattery. But Maximilian still clung to the crown with all his might. Herzfeld had fallen into disgrace for urging him too strongly to go home; even Kodolitsch did not possess the Emperor's full confidence, Maximilian did not trust Baron Lago, the Austrian Minister, and so there remained only Fischer, who again began to increase his influence.

The Emperor had good reason to be suspicious of Lago; the minister's behaviour to him as a member of the imperial family was most unseemly. He reported maliciously to Count Mensdorff [61] that the Emperor was physically and morally incapable of arriving at a final decision, and was occupying himself at such a critical time with merely chasing butterflies. He also repeated the references to the Austrian succession in Eloin's intercepted letter, and described Maximilian's attempts to attack the validity of the Convention of Miramar. Lago showed his dislike for the Mexican Emperor so plainly that it was only natural that Maximilian kept him at a distance, though as the representative of his own country he should have

[60] See Schmit von Tavera, op. cit., II. 217.

[61] Baron Lago to Count Mensdorff, November 28, 1866. V. N. A.

been able to count upon his assistance. But Lago also displayed a perfectly absurd personal timidity. He felt the ground slipping from beneath his feet, and his one idea was how he could best save his own person from the general collapse. He therefore proposed to Count Mensdorff that he should recall the staff of the Legation, or at least replace them by others; that is to say, send persons to Mexico who should be more acceptable to the Dissidents! And this was while Maximilian was still in the country.

And now arrived a letter from Gutierrez de Estrada,[62] just at the right moment to influence Maximilian in his final decision. In his bombastic, pompous style Gutierrez wrote that, in spite of all the news that was arriving, he was convinced that, true to the traditions of the illustrious house of Habsburg, Maximilian would never be capable of recoiling from any obstacle whatsoever, and leaving his post of honour in the hour of danger. He reminded the Emperor of his "binding and repeated" statements that he would remain steadfastly at the post to which he had been called. A sovereign must devote himself entirely to the State and to his country, especially in the hour of danger. "What general," wrote the trusty Gutierrez from the safety of Europe "would leave his position of command in the hour of battle for any private reason of whatsoever nature?" The Empress had sacrificed her health, as she would have offered up her life; the whole world was in admiring agreement as to this, and would applaud the Emperor if he showed the same spirit of sacrifice. Then a glorious victory would take place, and the Empress would perhaps be able to return to his side safe and sound. But if, in spite of all, things miscarried, the Emperor would have the consciousness of having done all that was humanly possible, and maintained his honour as well as that of his august house.

Gutierrez's letter was adapted with diabolical ingenuity to the Emperor's mentality; and it did not fail of its effect. The influences which had recently made themselves felt were almost all in favour of remaining, all others were as far as possible skilfully kept at a distance. In Austria the best the Emperor

[62] Gutierrez to the Emperor Maximilian, October 28, 1866. V. N. A.

could expect was a painful and delicate position, especially considering how he had boasted about Mexican conditions in his letters to his relations. Even on the morning of November 28 farewell letters were drawn up to the Mexican Ministers in Europe. And yet on the afternoon of that very day Maximilian at last arrived at his fateful decision to remain behind.[63] He wrote a draft of the appeal which was to be drawn up, in which were stated the reasons for his original project of abdication — namely, the obstruction offered by the French in the matter of the army and finances, and Napoleon's final withdrawal — followed by the reasons for his decision to stay. "To abdicate power into the hands of foreigners," it ran, "would be treason, and not flight, no Habsburg would do that; therefore a proclamation and a free congress." Maximilian also set forth in writing the demands with which he meant to accompany his sacrifice, under the title "Conditions under which I stay." They were as follows:[64]

(1) Arrangement for getting out of the toils of the French.
(2) Arrangement with America.
(3) Raising of money.
(4) Organization of the army.
(5) No more bloodshed.
(6) Suspension of the law of October 3.
(7) Courts-martial for non-political bandits only.

[63] Ollivier, op. cit., IX. 104, tries to ascribe the final decision to the effect of a letter from the Archduchess Sophie, who informed Maximilian that he would be badly received, or not received at all at home, and referred to Lago's communications. But Ollivier did not have the letter before him, and I can find no trace of it. Lago must have told Dano about it. There might have been a hypothetical expression of opinion by Dano, who knew what the imperial family thought, misled as they were by Maximilian's rosy accounts, and feared developments in connexion with the Family Pact. It was, at any rate, their wish that the Emperor should stay, so that his prestige should not be impaired in the eyes of the world, and that the question of the Family Pact should not be revived. A letter from the Archduchess Sophie, reproduced later, also bears witness to her desire that Maximilian should stay; but it was far from being the case that she told her most dearly beloved son that he must stay, that he would not be received and would be made ridiculous if he returned, as Dano pretended to know. It was probably a case of a supposed utterance on the part of Dano; Pierron's letter to Maximilian, quoted above, was to be ascribed to some such thing.

[64] The Emperor Maximilian's autograph exposition is extant in V. N. A.

The Emperor Maximilian did not for a moment consider that he had been looking in vain for a solution of these questions for more than a year past, and that at such a critical moment the Conservatives would not be in a position to carry out all these " conditions." It was simply a repetition of what had happened before he accepted the crown; then, too, conditions had been laid down, but when they were not fulfilled, Maximilian accepted the crown all the same.

" Deeply moved by the evidences of love and loyalty " which he had met with from the ministers and counsellors of State, Maximilian now declared himself prepared " for every sacrifice," [65] " only " the national congress to be assembled must be as far as possible composed of all parties; it was to settle the financial questions, take measures to recruit a regular national army and deal with colonization, clear up all questions at issue between France and Mexico, and arrive at an understanding with the United States.

Maximilian asserted that the nation might be sure that, if it decided upon a republican form of government, he would be the first citizen to congratulate the President whom it should elect.[66] Lares and Luis de Arroyo, the Minister of the Imperial Household, were appointed to receive the communications of General Castelnau, and a proclamation was addressed to the Mexicans informing them of the Emperor's decision to make his stay dependent upon the vote of the National Congress.[67] Baron Lago remarked bitterly that such an appeal to a national assembly was hardly worthy of a sovereign; it was impossible to let oneself be " balloted for," as it were, by one's subjects.[68]

But the decision had now been made. When Bazaine learnt of this sudden turn of affairs, he reported in a resigned tone to Paris: [69] " The Emperor declares that he will maintain himself by his own resources; our role is at an end, it only remains

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[65] The Emperor Maximilian to Lares, November 28, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

[66] The Emperor Maximilian to General Alatorre, December 16, 1866; draft in V. N. A.

[67] See Schmit von Tavera, op. cit., II. 220, or Montlong, op. cit, p. 39.

[68] Baron Lago to Count Mensdorff (Baron Beust), December 6, 1866. V. N. A.

[69] Political report by Bazaine, November 28, 1866; Ollivier, op. cit., IX. 117.

for us to withdraw as quickly as possible. Let us then leave Mexico as soon as we can."

The three representatives of France now declared in an official note to Lares [70] that they considered it impossible for the Empire to maintain itself by its own resources. But it was now of no use, the Conservatives had triumphed, and knew perfectly well how to inspire the Emperor with deep distrust for everything coming from the French side. On the evening before the Emperor's return, the ministers and Father Fischer celebrated their "victory" at Orizaba by a little intimate champagne supper.

Meanwhile news had reached the United States that the partial embarkation of the French troops, which was to have begun in November, had been countermanded, and that the expeditionary corps was not to be shipped home, at any rate entirely, till a few months later. This was mistakenly considered to be a mere sham, and it was at once urged in Paris that the expeditionary force should speedily be recalled. Threatening voices had been raised in the Senate at Washington, and a telegram had even been sent to the American Ambassador in Paris demanding the immediate recall of the troops.[71] This telegram struck Bigelow as too strong. He expressed its purport in milder terms, and handed the revised telegram to Napoleon, with the remark that he would rather not take it upon himself to show him the original. Napoleon requested him to send it all the same, saying that he would answer it, and told Metternich that the telegram had indeed been "very impertinent." Bigelow, who sensed a threat in Napoleon's answer, telegraphed to Washington, and managed to obtain a note to the same purpose, but couched in more conciliatory terms. But this was merely a question of form. The peremptory *démarche* of the United States remained essentially unaltered. The American "corps of observation" on the northern frontier of Mexico was threat enough.

The United States too was now treating Austria with less

[70] Printed in Kératry, op. cit., p. 257.

[71] The following narrative is based on Napoleon's account of matters to Metternich. See his dispatch to Beust of December 10, 1866.

courtesy. Baron Wydenbruck had constantly to complain of personal attacks upon the Emperor Francis Joseph. But the Austrian Cabinet was at pains to avoid incurring fresh hostility, and therefore refused to take offence. Wydenbruck was even instructed not to take the attacks upon the Emperor Francis Joseph so tragically, for "things were quite different in America, with its free manners, from what they were in Europe, under a Government which enjoyed authority." [72]

When the news reached New York that Maximilian had resolved to abdicate and leave the country, the United States appointed a minister, Mr. Campbell, who, with General Sherman, was to negotiate with Juarez with a view to forming the new Government. On landing at Vera Cruz on November 29, they tried to get into touch with Marshal Bazaine, but now heard of Maximilian's decision to remain in Mexico. In such circumstances their mission had no further meaning, and they returned home; the sentiments of the United States towards Maximilian were not improved by this.

In proportion as France's position in Mexico became weaker, England began to lay aside her reserve; Count Bombelles even found that opinion in London was "good," though he described the feeling towards the Empire in Brussels as "infamous." [73] But it could not be worse there than in the United States, and it was a sign of utter ignorance of the world, if of nothing worse, that Father Fischer should have kept trying to persuade the Emperor that it would be possible to arrive at an understanding with the United States by the aid of a special envoy sent to President Johnson in person. In the light of all previous experience, anything of the sort should have been considered as doomed to failure from the outset. But Maximilian wanted to stay, and therefore he looked for any sort of simile which might justify his decision. "My position," he remarked, "is that of a sentinel, remaining at his post, true to his orders, until he is discharged from it in due form." [74]

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[72] Baron Beust to Baron Wydenbruck, November 22, 1866. V. N. A.

[73] Count Bombelles to the Emperor Maximilian, November 13, 1866. V. N. A.

[74] The Emperor Maximilian in *Apuntes por el Señor Dano y el General Castelnau*, undated, but, from the context, possibly of December 10, 1866. V. N. A.

Pierron continued to influence the Emperor from Mexico City. Dissensions began to arise between Castelnau and Bazaine. The marshal had naturally no very cordial sentiments towards the brigadier-general. Castelnau, on the other hand, was annoyed with Bazaine for having advised the Emperor to stay, in order to frustrate his own mission, which had been intended, secretly, if not officially, to induce Maximilian to abdicate, and so to damage the general in his sovereign's eyes. Bazaine, in concert with Castelnau and Dano, had on December 8 signed the document warning the Emperor against remaining in Mexico, and now the report suddenly spread abroad that Bazaine was to a certain extent responsible for Maximilian's latest decision to stay in the country.

Castelnau at once reported Maximilian's decision to Paris, whereupon Napoleon III, in a rage, had a cablegram sent him on December 13 to the effect that all Frenchmen who wished, besides the Foreign Legion and the Austrian and Belgian corps — in so far as they wished — were to be ordered home. By so doing Napoleon entirely threw over the Convention of Miramar, and now deprived the Emperor, whom he had already stripped of his whole customs revenue and of the advice of all his competent and devoted Frenchmen, of all his foreign soldiers.

Pierron still felt himself to be the Emperor's confidant. He had just sent him a copy of a telegram from Napoleon to Bazaine:[75] "In view of the grave complications which are arising in Europe, I have definitively resolved to reunite the whole of the French army. The expeditionary force must accordingly be embarked without delay at the beginning of next March. You will examine the question with the French Minister and General Castelnau as to whether it is expedient to embark the Austrians and Belgians at our expense." The telegram was sent off simultaneously with the one to Castelnau. The consequence was that all consideration for the Emperor

[75] Napoleon to Bazaine, Compiègne, December 10, 1866. V. N. A. Communicated to the Emperor Maximilian in a letter of Pierron's. V. N. A. Gaulot gives a telegram to the same effect to Bazaine of December 4, but does not mention the one quoted here of December 10.

was now abandoned. Bazaine issued an order by which all Frenchmen might leave the country, even those incorporated in the battalions of *cazadores*. This was an indirect invitation to them, and a severe blow to the organization of these units, which had only just been formed. Dano and Castelnau, for their part, resolved to press for the carrying out of the customs convention, in order to deprive the Emperor of his last financial resources, and thus possibly force him to abdicate even now. For the same reason, the powder and other military supplies which the French did not take with them on their departure were not handed over to the imperial troops, but destroyed. Castelnau was well aware that he would be saving his imperial master great embarrassment if he brought Maximilian safely back with the French on their return. Nobody would then be able to reproach Napoleon with having abandoned Maximilian. Since Maximilian refused the obnoxious suggestion that he should return to Europe, these measures failed of their effect, and only led to increased bitterness between the two parties. The Mexican financial authorities declined to obey French orders, and when the French levied duties on their own responsibility, the Mexicans declared that they did not recognize their right to do so, and levied others on their own account; thus the brunt of this feud was borne by trade, which had to support a double burden.

The Austrian and Belgian corps were disbanded. Kodolitsch's hopes remained unfulfilled. Maximilian and the Mexican Government sought by promises of all sorts to induce as many officers and men as possible to enter the Mexican national army. But Lago did all he could to prevent his fellow-countrymen from doing so, and even sent an official warning to the commander of the Mexican army.[76] In so doing he undoubtedly exceeded the instructions he had received from Vienna, though they had charged him to provide for the future of the Austrian volunteers. Lago even opposed recruiting on the part of the brave Count Khevenhüller, who had undertaken to form a regiment of hussars. He alleged that they were enlisted while under the influence of drink, pointed out

[76] See Schmit von Tavera, op. cit., II. 243; Salm gives the text in an appendix.

the dangers to which they were exposed, and even warned them not to trust the assurances given to them.[77] The whole foreign colony and the diplomatists, besides Colonel Kodolitsch, displayed their unconcealed contempt for the behaviour of the Austrian *chargé d'affaires* towards his Emperor's brother. Lago avenged himself by writing home that, so long as a man like Colonel Kodolitsch was at the head of the Austrian troops, a good understanding with the Imperial and Royal Legation was "an absolute impossibility." Kodolitsch might have said the same about Lago, but the result was that, while 173 officers remained faithful to the Emperor, only 650 men of the Austrian and Belgian corps did the same. All the rest[78] prepared to leave Mexico with the French.

Pierron's view now was that if the Emperor remained, the army was the most important thing. "Everybody," he wrote from Mexico City to Maximilian at Orizaba,[79] "is agreed that Your Majesty must assume the command of the army, bring the *cazadores* battalions up to strength of about 1,000 men, and take the offensive against the Dissidents." To this end he recommended a drastic measure, the *leva;* i.e., a forced levy of men for military service, and a poll-tax, as in the days of the Spanish viceroys.

Maximilian had had a circular letter addressed to the legations in Mexico, explaining his recent proceedings and decisions, and using severe language about the French for having broken the conventions. Dano called upon the Minister-President to lodge a complaint. Lares merely answered curtly that it was true that the troops were to be withdrawn before the time agreed upon at Miramar. The minister, who could hardly deny this, changed the subject, and expressed the opinion that, in his view, the summoning of a congress was impossible, in the revolutionary condition of the country. This seemed to be the predominant view in Mexico at the time.

[77] From Baron Lago's own report to Vienna, January 9, 1867. V. N. A.

[78] 3,600 went back to Europe under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Polàk, 100 became civilians, about 800 (officers and men) remained in the Mexican army, about 1,000 were taken prisoners by the Juaristas or entered their service.

[79] Note from Pierron to the Emperor Maximilian, undated, but belonging by the context to about December 20, 1866.

Louis Robles, a prominent Liberal leader, had[80] called together the distinguished Liberals in Mexico City and asked for their assistance in concluding an armistice and calling a congress. They recognized the Emperor's lofty motives, but said that they considered the congress a Utopian idea. In spite of everything Maximilian persevered. This idea was his last hope; perhaps even now it might enable him to remain at the head of the Empire.

Once more Dano and Castelnau proposed a personal attempt to induce the Emperor to abdicate. Pierron informed Maximilian of this on December 18,[81] saying that it was due to nothing but Dano's personal interests, for he had reported to his Government a little while before that the Emperor was abdicating, and, now that the contrary was the case, Dano was afraid that his false prophecy would result in his recall. At the same time Pierron informed the Emperor that the marshal appeared "very much interested in everything concerning the Empire," and that, in the end, they would procure the necessary elements for its support. Marquez had also heard of the two Frenchmen's plans. He too hastened to play the informer,[82] and telegraphed to Maximilian that the news of Dano's and Castelnau's intentions had excited and irritated the Mexicans, and that they wanted Maximilian to refuse, since "his throne would be defended and upheld by all classes of Mexican society."

The Emperor had just heard from Count Rességuier,[83] who had returned to New York on a fresh mission, that his return to Mexico City would make a good impression in the United States; the Washington Cabinet would be pleased at the departure of the French, and would at first remain neutral; later on he hoped for a speedy revulsion in favour of the Empire.

The Count's optimistic if inaccurate information and, above all, Marquez's telegram rallied the Emperor's spirits. And so

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[80] Louis Robles to Maximilian, December 21, 1866. V. N. A.

[81] Telegram from Pierron in V. N. A.

[82] Telegram from Marquez to the Emperor Maximilian, December 31, 1866. V. N. A.

[83] Count Rességuier to the Emperor Maximilian, December 15, 1866. V. N. A.

he was forewarned and forearmed when he received Dano and Castelnau, who drew as gloomy a picture of the situation as they possibly could, finally observing that Bazaine also considered that no course was open to the Emperor but to abdicate, since he could not maintain his position by his own resources. They also showed him the statement to this effect signed by them and Bazaine on December 8. Maximilian then appealed to Pierron's recent telegrams about the measures to be taken, the marshal's interest in the Empire, support, etc., making out — whether deliberately or not is not clear — that they came from Bazaine. Castelnau was nonplussed, and replied that he must attribute the responsibility for these proceedings to the marshal; but he stuck to his point that nothing but the Emperor's full and free decision to lay aside his power could save Mexico from civil war and its thousand ills.

Maximilian rejoined that he could not leave the post entrusted to him, but by Napoleon's advice had summoned a national congress to decide the point. He expected, he said, that the country, which was entirely opposed to the monarchical idea, would opt for Juarez and the republican form of government. He would accept this decision, and be the first to congratulate the elect of the nation, after which he would leave the country without a stain on his honour.[84] Castelnau and Dano's efforts to convince the Emperor that a national congress was impossible in existing circumstances, and that the victorious Liberals would never submit to its decision, were in vain. Maximilian stood firm; he merely complained of Bazaine and his methods, but Dano and Castelnau had at last to retire without gaining their point.

Napoleon's aide-de-camp was particularly incensed with Bazaine after this failure, for he assumed that behind his back the latter had been negotiating with Maximilian to stay. Dano attributed this action of Bazaine's to personal interest, which would lead him to stay as long as possible in Mexico to please his young Mexican wife — which, if the Emperor abdicated, would not be for long. But instead of going straight to Bazaine,

[84] See Ollivier, op. cit., IX. 109, who used Castelnau's dispatches to the Emperor Napoleon.

who would have cleared up the matter by the aid of Captain Pierron's well-meaning, if dangerous, telegrams, Castelnau preferred to write an angry report to the Emperor Napoleon. Ugly intrigues arose among the leaders of the French intervention; Douay attacked Bazaine, Bazaine Castelnau; Dano was sometimes for and sometimes against Bazaine; a somewhat unedifying situation, for which Napoleon was in the first place responsible, for Castelnau's mission could not but give rise to such developments.

Bazaine had a watch set upon Castelnau, and so it happened that an orderly officer happened "by chance," during the sweeping out of Castelnau's office, to find the draft [85] of his report to Napoleon about Bazaine's alleged double-dealing, and gave it to the marshal.

In his reports to Paris Bazaine defended himself indignantly against Castelnau's imputations, and requested that he should be placed on the retired list. The new Minister for War, Marshal Niel, had difficulty in calming him. This was necessary, for in the draft which Bazaine had read, Castelnau had announced that, in view of the position of affairs, he was faced with the question whether he ought not to remove Bazaine from his command. But he had finally decided not to do so, in order to avoid a scandal.

Maximilian wrote to Captain Pierron, saying that he scarcely hoped that the decision of the National Assembly would be in his favour; but inwardly he hoped the opposite. Pierron answered in the words of Lucretius: [86]

Suave mari magno, turbantibus æquora ventis
E terra, magnum alterius spectare laborem;
Non quia vexari quemquam est jucunda voluptas,
Sed quibus ipse malis careas quia cernere suave est.

Maximilian now resolved to return to the capital. But he did not mean to go back to the palace of Chapultepec, which was now stripped of all his belongings, for, as he

[85] Printed in Gaulot, op. cit., II. 451.
[86] Pierron to the Emperor Maximilian, December 31, 1866. V. N. A.

said, he could not bear to think that he might soon have to leave the palace by one door, while the President came in at the other.

After staying for a fortnight at Puebla, where the Conservatives submitted to him yet another Utopian financial project, Maximilian started for Mexico City, escorted by about a thousand Austrian hussars and Mexican *gendarmerie*. At the little town of Ayotla, Van der Smissen made his appearance.[87] Knowing that he too had made up his mind to leave him with the Belgian Legion, Maximilian received the colonel very coldly, and remained impervious to his urgent prayers that he would avoid a fruitless struggle which could only lead to a catastrophe. Van der Smissen's return home would certainly have been made easier if Maximilian had done so, especially as the Austrian commander, Colonel Kodolitsch, was determined to stay with the Emperor. The Emperor replied that Van der Smissen must go where destiny should lead him. Their conversation was carried on in Spanish, for Maximilian now avoided even speaking French.

General Marquez came out to meet the Emperor at Rio Frio with a thousand men. Maximilian established himself in the Hacienda de la Teja, the modest country residence of a Swiss immigrant, a kilometre from Mexico and only a few hundred paces from the palace of Chapultepec. Here he received Bazaine's visit. In earnest words, full of sincere pity, the marshal represented to him that, since Napoleon's orders to send all the troops home, no hope was left him; he ought not to wait till the last moment before withdrawing. Maximilian declared that he had no illusions, that he believed the Conservatives had deceived him, and that it would not be possible to summon the national congress, but that he must be absolutely certain of this; then he would no longer hesitate to retire, only he did not want to give the impression that he was throwing down his arms and taking to flight.[88] Maximilian would not admit that all this was nothing but words; that in spite of seeing through the Conservatives, he was remaining

[87] General van der Smissen: *Souvenirs de Mexique*, p. 219.

[88] See Castelnau's report to Napoleon; Ollivier, op. cit., IX. 121.

because he could not bear to part with his crown. And so he stiffened his neck and remained.

Baron Lago commented bitterly upon the news of Maximilian's return to Mexico City. He would now have to stay too; but he reported that the Emperor had been received in the capital with cold indifference, and even with an irony not unmixed with bitterness. The Conservatives were now sure that at last they had got Maximilian in their clutches. Essentially they were as uncongenial to the Emperor as ever. He was still full of liberal and philanthropic ideas. It was only under the pressure of events that he had thrown himself into the arms of the Conservatives; they were quite aware of this, and were therefore still suspicious of him. But now they must at least try to procure the forces which they had promised.

The partisans of the three generals Miramón, Marquez, and Mejía gathered round their leaders. The three little groups thus formed were given the proud title of army corps. Colonel Count Khevenhüller formed a regiment of hussars, Lieutenant-Colonel Baron Hammerstein an infantry regiment, Count Wickenburg, an Austrian cavalry officer, organized the *gendarmerie*.

Shortly afterwards T. Murphy submitted to the Emperor a report of the organization of the Mexican army on a war-footing, in which it was stated that on January 13 the three corps comprised 29,663 men, 6691 horses, and ten and a half batteries. As to the Dissidents, it was stated that, in so far as their disorganization and anarchy allowed their forces to have any regular character, they might be estimated at some 34,500 men.

The French troops and the two volunteer corps could no longer be reckoned upon. The Empire was now indeed relying upon its own strength alone. By the instructions of his commander-in-chief, even Pierron's influence upon the Emperor now came to an end. On January 8 he wrote to Maximilian that he had no further concern with politics,[89] and he too now disappeared from the scene. Other persons pressed forward to take his place.

[89] Pierron to the Emperor Maximilian, January 8, 1867. V. N. A.

Nor was the Emperor's health entirely restored; he was prevented by fever from attending a ministerial council which took place on January 7. Moreover, he was tortured by the thought of his wife's insanity. On January 12 a telegram suddenly arrived from Vienna, by way of New Orleans, saying that the Empress Charlotte had entirely recovered, both physically and morally. The good news was at once communicated to the Emperor; but contradiction immediately followed, and the Emperor's nerves had to endure a fresh shock.

The Princess Josefa Iturbide, who was still living in the palace of Mexico, had anxiously followed the course of events. She had repeatedly written to Father Fischer about money matters,[90] inquired after the Emperor's health, and expressed the hope that Maximilian would "free himself from the sycophants who surrounded him, and stay at his post." But her confidence waned as the French made ready to leave the land for good.[91]

Meanwhile Bazaine had received Napoleon's detailed instructions, the purport of which was[92] that Maximilian's abdication was if possible to be obtained, the troops ordered home, and steps taken to set up a new Government in concert with the United States, but to the exclusion of Juarez. For the rest, all that Napoleon wanted was to get out of Mexico as soon as possible, while securing his dignity and France's financial interests. On receiving Castelnau's account of his fruitless intervention at Orizaba, Napoleon sent a supplementary telegram to the effect that he must not force the Emperor to abdicate,[93] but must on no account delay the departure of the troops for this reason.

Maximilian had gradually come to see that the plan of setting up a national assembly was not feasible; it ought to have included all parties, but the non-Conservative parties would not hear of it, and even the others found it inconvenient. But Maximilian would not give it up, and summoned a "junta" in

[90] e.g. on November 12, 1866, January 9 and 12, 1867. V. N. A.
[91] Josefa Iturbide to Father Fischer, January 22 and 28, 1867. V. N. A.
[92] See Schmit von Tavera, op. cit., II. 204.
[93] Telegram of January 10, 1867; see Gaulot, op. cit., II. 477.

Mexico City, in which, once again, only the ministry and the Conservative notables took part, so that its decision was a foregone conclusion. Bazaine laid his views before it;[94] the survival of the Empire, he said, had now become impossible, the imperial troops would desert or be defeated, in which case Maximilian would sink to the level of a mere party leader; it was necessary for his honour and safety that he should resign his power into the hands of the nation. Marquez, on the other hand, stated that the further deterioration of the military situation which had meanwhile taken place, the loss of Zacatecas, Aguascalientes, Guadalajara, and San Luis, was due merely to the uncertainty arising from the report that the Emperor had made up his mind to abdicate, and not to the victories of the Juaristas over the imperialists. The situation was indeed difficult, but not desperate; these places could easily be recaptured.

The Ministers of Finance and War next submitted their optimistic and deceptive figures; after which, out of the thirty-three persons present, seventeen, including Father Fischer, voted in favour of remaining, and eight abstained from voting. It was thus possible to announce to Maximilian that the junta had voted for him to remain; the Emperor accepted the "decision" entirely, for it responded to his desires.

Bazaine left the assembly full of resentment and angry with himself for having accepted the invitation to take part in such a sham. He had played a sorry part in this Francophobe assembly. The marshal said to himself that if the Emperor was bent upon rushing on his doom, he must be allowed to do so; in view of Napoleon's orders, he could not dissuade him by force.

After the close of the assembly, the Minister-President Lares called upon Baron Lago, and informed him that the Emperor wanted to hear his opinion, not as a diplomatist, but as a private person, as to whether he ought to remain in such a critical situation, and if not, what was to be done. Lago was a little surprised, and advised that, while Marquez, Miramón,

[94] Bazaine's exposé was sent to Maximilian on January 16, 1867. V. N. A. Already printed by Schmit von Tavera, op. cit., II. 250.

and Mejía were fighting the Juaristas, they should try to hold the capital and the road from Vera Cruz to Mexico City with a stronger force, so that the Emperor (not to speak of others) could retire to the coast at any time. The second condition must be to make sure that no United States troops entered Mexico on the departure of the French. In the event of leaving the country, a general amnesty must be agreed upon with Juarez. Lares gave a suitably coloured account to the Emperor of Lago's words, and Maximilian was so pleased that he wrote to Barandiaran, at Vienna,[95] that he was glad to be able to state that Baron Lago had recently been behaving with more tact and cordiality. But when, on January 28, the Baron requested a private audience through Father Fischer, it was refused. The Conservatives, and especially Lares, were afraid that he would yet persuade the Emperor to leave the country. From this time onwards Maximilian was practically the prisoner of the Conservatives.

Now that they saw that Bazaine represented a danger to their plans, they tried every means to poison the relations between the Emperor and the marshal, and if possible to bring about an entire breach between them. An article abusing the French authorities appeared in the newspaper *La Patria*. Bazaine gave orders that the further issue of the paper should be suspended, and the editor or publisher arrested. The Mexican Government remonstrated, since this lay within the Emperor's prerogative. Next Marquez arrested a Mexican named Garay, whom he knew to be in Bazaine's service. When the French garrison commander failed to get him discharged, he arrested the Mexican police president. The reports of this incident presented to the Emperor were coloured to suit the parties.

Finally, on January 25, the Mexican ministry composed a letter to Bazaine, in which it asked what form the French assistance promised in his letter of November 7 would take in the event of an attack on the capital, since recently — for instance, in the attack on Texcoco — no support had been given. The marshal replied that in view of the tone of this letter he

[95] The Emperor Maximilian to Barandiaran, January 27, 1867; draft in V. N. A.

would hold no further communications with the Lares Government, at the same time informing the Emperor, and again warning him against this "perfidious section of a party" which was now leading him towards an era of the most terrible misfortune. "Up to the last moment, Sir," concluded the letter, "I shall be ready to respond to any calls that Your Majesty may make upon me, and shall always desire to bring my exertions into harmony with your wishes." [96]

On the very same evening Bazaine had his letter returned, accompanied by a communication from Father Fischer, to the effect that the Emperor had charged him to tell the marshal that he could not permit anybody to use such language about his ministers. If Bazaine did not withdraw his words, His Majesty would hold no further direct communications with him.[97]

The Conservatives' plan had succeeded. Father Fischer had played his part with diabolical success; the last danger was removed. Maximilian was now no more than a cipher, at the mercy of Lares, Fischer, Marquez, and the like.

Meanwhile the concentration of the French expeditionary corps had been completed; by a tacit understanding with the Juaristas everything had gone off with scarcely a hitch. The question of the prisoners and the fate of the French who wanted to leave the country had also been satisfactorily settled by negotiations between the marshal and Riva Palacio. The French troops, 26,000 strong, now prepared to leave the country for good, and with them the majority of the Austrians and Belgians. The misunderstandings lasted up to the last moment. As late as February 4, Du Matray, second in command on the French General Staff, addressed a peremptory letter to the Mexican Ministry for War,[98] to the effect that if the sums outstanding for the French officers' billeting-allowances were not paid by five o'clock in the evening, the best

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[96] Bazaine to the Emperor Maximilian, Mexico, January 28, 1867; copy in V. N. A.; printed in Schmit von Tavera, op. cit., II. 259.

[97] See Gaulot, op. cit., II. 484.

[98] Du Matray to the Mexican Ministry for War, Mexico, February 4, 1866. V. N. A.

bronze cannon belonging to the Mexican army would be taken to cover this amount.

On the following day, February 5, the French garrison left the capital with Bazaine at its head. Maximilian took no official notice, nor did he grant Bazaine the farewell audience for which he asked; all he did was to hide behind a curtain to watch the French march past. He is said to have remarked while doing so: "At last I am free." [99] The Emperor was indignant that the archbishop accompanied the marshal to the gates, as if he were "his chaplain." The higher clergy resigned their offices on the same day. They saw the storm coming, and tried to save themselves in time.

Meanwhile the struggle went on against the Juaristas, who continued to make great progress. Convinced that nothing would confirm the Emperor's decision to remain so much as a military victory, Miramón had undertaken to obtain one at all costs. As his forces advanced, Juarez had moved, with all his paraphernalia of government, to Zacatecas. His generals had already gained great successes. Escobedo commanded the whole of the north, Porfirio Diaz commanded the south and south-east, Corona Régules and Riva Palacio the west and centre. The generals were closing in upon the capital in a ring. The imperialist generals Mendez and Mejía still offered a tough resistance, and Marquez was successfully defending Toluca.

Miramón had increased his forces to four thousand by recruiting, and now resolved to carry out a foolhardy *coup de main* against Zacatecas, so as if possible to seize the person of President Juarez, and thus deal a knock-out blow at the enemy. By forced marches and skilful dispositions, he managed to make his attack on the town a complete surprise to his opponent, whose positions were not very strong. The garrison fled, and Juarez with it, and the latter was within an ace of being taken prisoner by the pursuing cavalry. The news of Miramón's success, and the fact that he had almost captured Juarez, led the Emperor, on the day when the French marched out, to address a letter to Miramón, in which he ordered that in such

[99] Masseras, op. cit., p. 157.

an event the President and his ministers were to be tried, but that the sentence must not be carried out without his sanction.[100] Unfortunately these instructions fell into the hands of the Juaristas. Maximilian was delighted to be able to tell his family that no sooner had the French left the country than victory had begun. His mother, the Archduchess Sophie, had just written to him confirming him in the resolution to remain, and giving him news of the unhappy Empress.

"Your poor Charlotte," ran the letter,[101] "wrote me such a pretty, loving, quite rational letter, in which she expresses great joy, as she also seems to have done about the Christmas presents from Papa and me, which I had arranged in her room on Christmas Eve. I can now *fully* approve the fact that, in spite of your natural desire to hasten to Charlotte,[102] you have stayed in Mexico; for you have thus avoided the *appearance* of having been got rid of by intrigue (to which you would in any case never have lent yourself, since you told both me and Herzfeld that, in case of necessity, you were determined to place your abdication in the hands of the nation); and since it is your great love, sympathy, and gratitude, besides dread of the anarchy that will follow, that keeps you in your new country, I can only rejoice in it, and hope profoundly that the rich people in the country will make your remaining there possible. Today's papers say that Campbell and Sherman, who were sent by the United States, did not find such great sympathy for Juarez as they expected in Mexico, but rather a number of parties, all of them hostile to one another. Many people here take an interest in the position which you have so far maintained so finely, in spite of all obstacles, and follow the news in the papers anxiously.

"Gustav Saxe-Weimar dined with us yesterday, and when I spoke to him, he at once said to me, with a true-hearted eagerness which delighted me deeply: 'I must tell Your Im-

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[100] See E. Lefèvre, op. cit., II. 293.

[101] The Archduchess Sophie to the Emperor Maximilian, Vienna, January 9, 1867; copy in V. N. A.

[102] On the contrary, the idea was really horrible to the Emperor Maximilian, and he dreaded the meeting with Charlotte.



THE EMPRESS ELIZABETH ("LISI")
OF AUSTRIA

perial Highness that I find the Emperor Max admirable; I am also convinced that he will maintain himself in Mexico; I have wagered a large sum that he will still be there in May!'

"On December 26 Papa and I for the first time asked our four grandchildren, with their parents and Giovanni (quite *en famille*), to a Christmas-tree. Gisela and Rudolf [103] had been rejoicing for a long time beforehand at spending Christmas with their little 'cousins,' of whom they are enormously fond; they were very sweet with them and brought them the things which they had cut off their big tree. The Emperor, who can be so charming with little children, rocked fat Otto [104] in a sledge, which they can pull along, and in which Rudolf eagerly gave the little ones a ride. Franzi [105] chose the better part; he sat down on one of the sofas beside Lisi [106] and chattered and played with her. Beauty is a magnet for little boys as much as for big men, while little girls do not as a rule pay attention to it.

"On the following Sunday, when all the children and grandchildren, including Otto, were gathered round us during and after luncheon, the big clock struck — the one with *your* works from Olmütz — and it seemed to me like a greeting from you, chiming in the family circle from afar.

"Tears came to my eyes. The Emperor noticed them, I think, and guessed the cause, for he turned away hastily. *And yet I am bound to want you to stay in Mexico now as long as this is possible, and can be done with honour.*

"Farewell, dear Max, we all embrace you from our hearts and send you best wishes for your happiness in the New Year."

On the same day the Archduke Karl Ludwig had also written a letter to Maximilian [107] in which occurred the words: "You have done quite right to let yourself be persuaded to

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[103] Children of Francis Joseph.

[104] Son of the Archduke Karl Ludwig, then aged twelve years, and afterwards father of the Emperor Charles.

[105] The Archduke Franz Ferdinand, afterwards heir apparent, then three years old.

[106] This was the Empress Elizabeth's pet name in the family circle.

[107] The Archduke Karl Ludwig to the Emperor Maximilian, Vienna, January 9, 1867. Copies of this letter and that of the Archduchess Sophie were given by Father Fischer to Dr. Kaska. V. N. A.

stay in the country, in spite of the grievous sorrows which have come upon you. So long as you are able to stay, do hold out in your present position."

Such was the result of the Emperor Maximilian's constant efforts to deceive his relations in Vienna about the true condition in Mexico, and always to dangle before them a great and powerful empire, from the height of whose throne he was bound to look down with absolute pity upon the senile and retrograde monarchies of Europe. These letters and the advice given in them were full of an unbounded ignorance of the true conditions in Mexico, and the Archduchess Sophie's motherly heart would never have led her to give such advice, had she not been misled by her son for years past as to the seriousness of the situation. A kindly Providence prevented them from being able to see into the future. What terrible changes were to take place in course of time in the idyllic family picture in the Archduchess Sophie's letter! The first victim was Maximilian; the year 1867, for which he had received such New Year wishes, was a year of doom for him. The Crown Prince Rudolf, the Empress Elizabeth, the Archduke Otto, Franz Ferdinand, all fell by one blow after the other, each more terrible than the last, as if fate had meant to make up for the heights to which it had raised the house of Habsburg by the tragedy of their individual destinies.

From the thoughts of home and family aroused by this letter the Emperor was roughly awakened by a messenger of disaster. General Escobedo, who had been cleverly outflanked by Miramón in his march on Zacatecas, had marched out to meet him on February 1 near the Hacienda San Jacinto, a few days after his success. This time it was the turn of Miramón's soldiers to flee in wild confusion. Escobedo captured 22 cannon and the imperialists' war chest, and took 1500 prisoners, among them Miramón's brother, who was badly wounded, and 101 Europeans, most of them French.

Juarez had given orders to treat all the Emperor's adherents without mercy, justly calculating that this would terrify his followers and induce them to desert him. Under the pretext that, since the departure of the expeditionary force, the French who

had stayed behind were filibusters, Escobedo had these 101 men sentenced by court-martial and shot. Although Miramón's brother had both his feet shot to pieces, he was also dragged on to a chair and shot by candlelight. The whole thing was dictated by a well-calculated terrorism, which did not fail to produce its effect.

Miramón and the rest of his troops now retired with difficulty towards Querétaro. The imperialist garrison from Toluca, which had been ordered to retire there by Marquez, was also attacked by the Juaristas near Monte de las Cruces, and met with heavy losses. To crown all, news arrived from Mejía that he was ill.

In view of the great hopes which Maximilian had based upon the talent of these generals and the operations of their army, these reports could not fail to shatter his illusions and plunge him into the deepest depression. Of all the promises that had been made him, not one had been redeemed. He never saw any money, military affairs were going badly, and nothing more was heard about the national congress. Father Fischer in particular had now to feel the weight of Maximilian's distrust; where was the concordat which he made out that he had arranged for, even though it had not yet been formally concluded? What about all the pledges of the Conservatives, about which Fischer had spoken so fulsomely and unctuously at Orizaba and Puebla? Nor had Maximilian forgotten the banquet which the priest had given his friends in the Government before the return from Orizaba, at which he had indulged so freely in champagne that he had been unwell on the following day, and had had to be left behind when they started. Fischer's influence was on the wane, and his hour had now come.

Maximilian expressed his views to Lares without reserve, and set the hopelessness of the situation clearly before him.[108] His confidence in the generals had been, he said, severely shaken since recent events; there was no sign of peace, civil war was breaking out afresh on all sides, the finances had to be helped out by the most odiously oppressive measures, the

[108] Maximilian to Lares, February 9, 1867. V. N. A. Printed several times; e.g., in Masseras, op. cit., p. 162; Schmit von Tavera, Gaulot, etc.

Empire lacked both moral and material strength. On the other hand, the Liberal army was strong in the idea of fighting for the independence of the country. It was no longer possible to summon a national assembly. Free from all personal and political interests, Lares must help him by his advice to some great resolve, which should put an end to all these ills at once. To consult Lares was like setting a wolf to guard the fold. In such a moment the Emperor alone could come to a decision; no friend, however well-meaning, could do it for him.

Lares and the Ministerial Council, which he had summoned, said themselves that the Empire could stand no longer. Their sole endeavour now was to secure the interests of their party and of the clergy, and Maximilian was to accomplish this by direct negotiations with Juarez. The main ends to be achieved were the material interests and franchise of the clergy, and, finally, a general amnesty for all the partisans of the Empire. But this offered a prospect of success only if the Emperor represented a power with which anyone would still enter into negotiations. To this end Maximilian ought to set himself at the head of his faithful generals, and as many troops as possible, in some city devoted to the Emperor's cause — possibly Querétaro — and put an end to the dissensions among the subordinate commanders by himself assuming the supreme command; by this means he would still represent a factor capable of commanding respect.[109] These considerations produced an effect upon the Emperor's romantic and ambitious mind; he appeared to incline towards this solution, though still secretly desiring to come to a compromise with the enemy. And so it was with mixed sentiments that the Emperor resolved upon the journey to Querétaro.

It was a question of life and death for the Conservatives that the Emperor should remain in the country. They now saw that the days of their domination were numbered; but they wanted to save all they could. The Emperor was necessary, to enable them to cover their retreat and obtain as favourable conditions for their party as they could. In the absence of the

[109] Lares to the Emperor Maximilian, February 10, 1867. V. N. A.; printed in Masseras, op. cit., p. 166.

Emperor and the military forces which still surrounded him, there was now absolutely no reason why Juarez should make any concessions, and they knew that he would persecute the conquered party remorselessly and cruelly, to the point of annihilation. Lares and his followers therefore strove to keep the Emperor in Mexico. He no longer dared to stay in the capital, for the Conservatives knew very well that the Europeans, and especially the commanders of the newly-raised regiments, Count Khevenhüller and Baron Hammerstein, besides the majority of the foreign ministers, who had no need to dread reprisals from Juarez in case of the Emperor's withdrawal, would end by convincing the Emperor that things could not go on any longer, but that he must leave the country. Father Fischer, the powerful mouthpiece of the Conservatives, had already fallen out of favour, so they must remove the Emperor from the capital as soon as possible. They knew perfectly well that Khevenhüller's hussars and Hammerstein's infantry had not yet completed their organization, but this did not prevent them from urging the Emperor to start at once.

With this aim in view they persuaded him that, now that he had an entirely free hand as ruler of Mexico, the foreign troops ought once more to be subordinated to the native Mexican ones. The Conservatives thus killed two birds with one stone: on the one hand, they kept almost all European influences at a distance (only one, Dr. Basch, the body-physician, was to accompany them to Querétaro); and, on the other hand, they kept the good foreign troops in Mexico City as a protection to themselves, for they were determined to prevent them from going to Querétaro, as the Emperor wished. Maximilian yielded, with a feeling like that of a gambler risking a desperate coup, and a vague idea that a miracle might perhaps even now take place at the last moment. If the worst came to the worst, he believed in the possibility of a compromise with Juarez, who was sure to accept it if the presidentship were assured to him. And, lastly, Maximilian believed that he had now gone too far to draw back.

Bazaine had heard of Miramón's reverse, and on February

13 sent word to Dano from Aculcingo [110] that he could still offer the Emperor his assistance to enable him to return home, but that in a few days this would no longer be possible. But Dano received the telegram too late. The Emperor suddenly left Mexico early on the 13th. The minister deeply regretted that Maximilian had resolved to go off upon this adventure, but he could not undo what had happened.

The embarkation of the French expeditionary corps and the legions lasted from February 13 to March 12. Marshal Bazaine was the last to quit Mexican soil. Voices had been raised among the troops, of which General Douay was the mouthpiece, ascribing the blame for all that had gone wrong to Bazaine. This reached the marshal's ears, and he called an officers' meeting, at which he tried to defend himself by submitting to them extracts from Napoleon's instructions and those of the Government.

They would not believe him, though he had, as a matter of fact, merely acted upon his orders, remaining from first to last a meticulously faithful servant of his master. By this action the marshal only succeeded in incurring Napoleon's displeasure, for this way of defending himself merely transferred the blame to the Emperor's shoulders. Castelnau's unfavourable official reports, and the equally unfavourable unofficial ones of Douay and others, made Bazaine out to be in the wrong, and so did public opinion in general. On his return he was received without the honours due to a marshal of France. It suited Napoleon at the moment to exhibit him to France as a scapegoat for the failure of the Mexican venture, in order to divert the general anger from himself and his wife.

But at heart he knew perfectly well that Bazaine had only been an obedient soldier; and as soon as things had blown over, he took him back into favour. And so Bazaine attained to his great position as commander-in-chief in the war of 1870–1, which soon put an end to his career for ever.[111]

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[110] See Gaulot, op. cit., II. 491.

[111] Bazaine capitulated at Metz on October 28, 1870 with 173,000 men of the Army of the Rhine, which he commanded. A court-martial condemned him to death and degradation, but the sentence was commuted into one of twenty years'

The Emperor Maximilian had finally broken with the French. As an outward and visible sign of this, he instructed Almonte, his minister in Paris, to go to London without delay. The Emperor wrote that this was of the highest importance, in view of the kindliness, and even affection, which the British Government was now displaying towards Mexico on every opportunity, whereas it had formerly shown so little favour towards him.[112] At the same time the Emperor sent a circular letter to the rest of his representatives in Europe, impressing upon them that none of them was even to enter French territory while travelling, or make use of a French steamer.

At the same time Napoleon III made a statement at the opening of the new session of the Corps Législatif to the effect that an unfortunate concatenation of circumstances had frustrated the attempt to restore an ancient empire. The underlying idea had been the regeneration of a people, besides the intention of opening up boundless future prospects to French trade. "But," said the Emperor of the French, "on the day when the sacrifices seemed to me to exceed the interests which called us beyond the ocean, I resolved on my own initiative to recall our troops."

These words were intended to conceal the truth — that it was the pressure brought to bear by the United States, and fear of military developments in Europe, which had been the chief motives for this decision. The Emperor Maximilian's name was not even mentioned in this address.

The Empress Eugénie, who had heard of the false rumour that the Emperor Francis Joseph had demanded as a condition of Maximilian's return that he should renounce his rights as an archduke, as well as laying aside his title of Emperor, expressed the opinion to Princess Metternich that this was a little hard. The Ambassador's wife replied that she did not believe it to be true, but that in any case it must appear natural that Austria, and indeed the whole Empire, should, if the case arose,

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imprisonment on the Island of Sainte-Marguerite, off Cannes. He escaped from there in 1874 by the aid of his young wife, who had shared all his joys and sorrows, and settled in Madrid, where he died.

[112] The Emperor Maximilian to Almonte, February 10, 1867; draft in V. N. A.

refuse to have anything to do with an heir presumptive who had already accepted one throne and been unable to maintain himself upon it.[113] Such reports had reached even Paris, and everybody was wondering what were the reasons for the Emperor's fateful decision to remain in the country. They did not ascribe them to his own soul, his inmost sentiments, which, after all, are what alone direct a man's course in life, and determine his destiny.

[113] Count Mülinen to Baron Beust, December 21, 1866. V. N. A.

CHAPTER XII

THE CATASTROPHE

The departure to Querétaro — The Emperor's reception and the military situation — Disastrous councils of war — Course of the siege — Dispatch of General Marquez — Short-lived triumphs — The treachery of Colonel Lopez — Capture of the Emperor on May 15, 1867 — His proud bearing — Maximilian a prisoner — Hopes of rescue — Thoughts of flight — The Emperor assailed by misgivings — The Prince and Princess Salm and their efforts — The part played by the ministers — The Emperor's trial — A double death — His last days and hours — Farewell letters — Maximilian's last walk — Break-up of the Empire — Universal Exhibition in Paris — Brilliant festivities — Impression produced by the sad news — Effect on the Emperor and Empress of the French — Condolences sent to Vienna — Napoleon and Eugénie's visit to Salzburg — Charlotte's dream of the "Sovereign of the Universe."

As we have seen, the military position of the Empire was most unfavourable. It now had command only of the cities of Mexico, Puebla, Vera Cruz, and Querétaro. All the rest was in the enemy's hands, or else handed over defenceless to his attacks. After his defeat, Miramón, with the remains of his troops, had rejoined General Castillo, who had been detached from him, and reached Querétaro. The imperialist General Mejía had just fought a successful engagement

with the Juarista Carbajal, and had also retired to that city. General Mendez was also there with his brigade, and Olvera, an adherent of the Emperor's, with his men, so that imperialist troops were collected there to the number of some 9000, though of very varying quality. General Porfirio Diaz was advancing on Puebla, with its garrison of 2500; Mexico City was defended by a few thousands only. The Juarista General Escobedo with 12,000 men, Corona with 8000, and Riva Palacio with 7000, were marching from various quarters on the united imperialist forces at Querétaro, without troubling very much about the capital. They were excellently supplied with information from within the imperialist camp, and accordingly, for the time being, transferred the centre of operations to the spot where the main fighting force of the imperialists was to be found, reckoning that if they subdued it, the capital and the whole country would fall automatically into their hands. Such an issue was to be expected, if only from the disparity of numbers, for the imperialists could dispose in all of some 16,000 men, while the Juaristas had at least 50,000 to 60,000, and were constantly increasing. It is true that the Juarista troops were also of very varying quality, so that surprising results were to be looked for on both sides, which might suddenly alter their relative strength. The Conservatives reckoned upon this, and upon the military reputation of their leaders, if they came to the test of arms.

As their trusted agent, General Marquez was attached to the Emperor and given the mission of bringing him from Mexico to Querétaro. The departure was fixed for February 12, but had to be postponed till the next day, since, in spite of all their boastful promises, the Conservative ministry had not got together any money; after all their efforts they could dispose of only 50,000 or 60,000 pesos in all.

The Empress had started on her voyage to Europe on the 13th of the month, and Maximilian now started off on his fateful march to Querétaro on the 13th — a curious sport of chance, even to the most unprejudiced minds. The departure of the column, consisting of some 1500 men and 18 cannon, and accompanied by the Emperor and General Marquez, was

to take place unannounced, in the early morning. It had been pieced together out of the most heterogeneous elements. There were but few Europeans in the ranks, and these mostly French. All the rest of the European troops stayed in Mexico.

One colonel, however, Prince Felix Salm-Salm, whom the Emperor had at first refused to take with him, managed by a clever pretext to get himself attached to General Vidaurri, who accompanied the column, and, to the great surprise of the Emperor, appeared with the column a day after it had started.

Salm had left the German army as a young man on account of his debts, and gone to America; after all sorts of adventures he had taken service in the army of the United States, and fought with signal valour in the War of Secession. During his wanderings this young man, fond of action and adventure, and always ready for duelling and fighting, had met a young circus-rider of French extraction, with a character very like his own. They ultimately married, and the former circus-rider became a clever and popular princess and a good wife. Maximilian had followed the advice of the politicians to take no Europeans with him, but in his heart of hearts he longed for them, and was delighted that Salm had found means to accompany him.

The march to Querétaro did not pass off without two small skirmishes. The Juaristas had sent out reconnoitring parties. Every time a fight with them took place, the Emperor hurried to the point threatened, regardless of danger. He knew that nothing stimulates soldiers more than for their supreme commander to share their dangers. Maximilian exposed himself wherever he could; his sense of honour and innate chivalry placed him in the forefront on every occasion. An army order announced that the Emperor had taken over the supreme command, and appointed General Marquez Chief of the General Staff.

On February 19 the Emperor arrived at Querétaro with his column. The town contained some 40,000 inhabitants, inclusive of the troops; it is situated in a valley through which runs a rapid stream, surrounded by a ring of low hills commanding a wide, level stretch of country. The eastern part

alone, with the Convent of the Cross (La Cruz), a sort of citadel with solidly constructed houses, lies on the hill known as the Cerro de la Cruz (Hill of the Cross) and commands the rest of the city. To the east of the town rises boldly the isolated Cerro de la Campana (Hill of the Bell), from which there is a beautiful view over the city and its lovely surroundings. From here it can best be seen what a trap the city was bound to be for an army which, on account of its small numbers, was not in a position to occupy the unfortified hills lying in a wide ring round the city. But it was not military reasons that had led to the choice of this town. The Conservative party had for long past regarded Querétaro, which was also an important commercial centre, as their citadel.

An imposing welcome had been prepared for the Emperor; knowing how susceptible he was to such things, the Conservatives had strained every nerve to arrange as brilliant an entry into Querétaro as possible. Crowds, troops lining the way, addresses of welcome, solemn church services, nothing was lacking. Generals Mejía and Miramón, who, in spite of many reverses, enjoyed a great military reputation, greeted the Emperor most warmly. Touched and exalted, Maximilian wrote to Lares at Mexico [1] that the enthusiasm with which the national anthem had been sung by thousands, the march past of the troops, and their tumultuous demonstrations of joy had stirred him to the depths. The rejoicings, he thought, had been sincere, and no sham. But his letter had a sting in its tail. Money was urgently needed to pay these honest troops, and Lares must raise it at all costs.

The Emperor was depressed by the dissensions among his generals almost as much as by his money troubles. First there was the honourable and valiant Miramón, formerly President of the Republic, still a young man of thirty-six, with a great military reputation, but small talent for generalship; then Mejía, who had served the Conservative cause faithfully for twenty-five years past, deeply beloved by the natives of his own region, the Indians of the Sierra Gorda, simple and brave,

[1] The Emperor Maximilian to Lares, February 19 and 20, 1867; draft in V. N. A.

cruel in the Indian fashion, but with great military ability. Marquez was the type of the unscrupulous Mexican party-leader, cunning, calculating, insincere, intriguing, and so deeply compromised that he could expect no mercy from his enemies. Finally the brave and energetic Mendez, who first reached Querétaro with his troops on February 23; he too was not free from cruelty, but was in other respects an honourable, simple soldier and a sincere Conservative.

They formed, with Maximilian, the five "magic M's" of the tragedy of Querétaro,[2] who had at their command a force of from 8000 to 9000 troops. It was difficult to subordinate any of them to the others. Bitter hostility prevailed in particular between Marquez and Miramón. Maximilian tried to evade difficulties by keeping the supreme command himself and placing Marquez at the head of the Staff, while Miramón commanded the infantry, Mejía the cavalry, and Mendez the reserves. By this means Maximilian hoped he might best obviate dissensions; but it was the least dependable of them whom he took into his immediate entourage.

Among the subordinate officers whom Maximilian had brought with him, the most distinguished was Colonel Lopez, an officer of a thoroughly European type, with a handsome presence and polished manners, always admirably mounted and exquisitely turned out. He had been in the Emperor's entourage ever since his arrival in 1864, had ridden beside the coach during the Emperor and Empress's first journey, and had won the Emperor's affection by his irreproachable bearing. He was not popular among his fellow officers; but Bazaine thought highly of him, and had obtained for him the Cross of the Legion of Honour, probably because Lopez was related to Bazaine's wife.

Both the military and the financial situations were discussed at a council of war held on February 24. Miramón was in favour of a rapid and vigorous attack, as indeed befitted the situation; Marquez, on the other hand, successfully upheld the view that it was too rash to venture out of Querétaro with their loosely organized troops, and recommended that the

[2] See Bancroft, op. cit., IX. 275.

hostile army should be allowed to concentrate unhindered, in order that when the imperialists had tightened up their organization, they might annihilate the enemy " at a blow "! But it was not only the dissensions among the generals and the paralysing scarcity of money that hampered them; it was also the Emperor's secret intention of negotiating with Juarez, backed up by his assembled army, so as to bring about a reconciliation between the parties. To this end, Bournouf had already been sent to Porfirio Diaz,[3] but without result. In spite of this, the Emperor continued to hope that peace might be brought about under a Government to be arranged between him and Juarez.[4]

It was decided at the council of war to bring the European regiments from the capital to strengthen the army, but it is significant that the order never reached them, for it was unwelcome to the Conservatives in the capital.

Maximilian now empowered an agent, named Antonio Garcia, to get into touch with Juarez, but the President declined all negotiations, and remained determined to clear up the situation by the sword and nothing but the sword. He tried to keep Maximilian in play, for the republican armies were at that time marching up in separate detachments, and, for the moment, the force which Maximilian had already collected was superior in strength to any one of the enemy columns. The idea of the congress still floated through Maximilian's mind, though it had long been shown to be a Utopian one.[5] The financial position grew more threatening every day; since no money arrived from the capital, there were no means of paying the army and covering current expenses. All that had been received from Mexico was 30,000 pesos, and that was hardly enough for five days. Maximilian's urgent letters to Mexico became more and more pressing. The

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[3] See Theodor Kaehlig: *Geschichte der Belagerung von Querétaro* (Vienna, 1879), p. 25.

[4] Cf. the report of Baron Magnus from San Luis Potosi, August 19, 1867 (V. N. A.), the descriptions in which are confirmed by numerous other witnesses.

[5] See the Emperor's memorandum for his defence; e.g., in Masseras, op. cit., p. 303.

minister Sanchez Navarro was charged[6] to hurry up the commission engaged in selling the imperial carriages, horses, etc., so that the wages of the household at least might be paid. But at Querétaro the only expedient left was to raise a forced loan from the people; this alone could provide the money which was indispensable if their resistance was to continue.

Meanwhile Escobedo's and Corona's corps, still temporarily separated, were advancing nearer the city. Escobedo had been appointed to the supreme command of the republican army. As a former *arriero* — i.e., ~~contractor and leader of long mule-trains~~, the traditional means of road transport in Mexico, which was difficult and often dangerous — he had acquired a very accurate knowledge of the country, but was held to be rather irresolute and weak in emergencies, though not at all cruel. Like all Mexican generals leading large bodies of troops, he had the hope of becoming President always before his eyes. He was forty years old, with a great black beard and a stern, gloomy appearance, like General Corona, whose energy was famous throughout the whole republican army. Escobedo, like the other leaders, had strict orders to treat the remaining adherents of the Emperor without consideration or even mercy, so that nobody should want to go over to his side.

Maximilian might still have been able to fall upon one or the other corps; but, while bearing all the hardships of the campaign, fixing his headquarters at first on the Cerro de la Campana, sleeping wrapped up in a blanket under the open sky, and indefatigably inspecting his troops by day, he put off the decision, in the hope that something would happen to extricate him from his difficulties. Thus he let precious time slip past, always in the hope of arriving at an understanding with the Liberals. The conciliatory ideas, the thought of uniting all parties, with which he had first stepped upon Mexican soil, had never left his mind. The innate and deeply rooted kindliness of his whole nature prevented him, in spite of all he had been through, from grasping the fact that party hatred can never see reason, especially in Mexico.

[6] The Emperor Maximilian to Sanchez Navarro, Querétaro, February 23, 1867; draft in V. N. A.

And so Escobedo and Corona had time to effect a junction undisturbed before Querétaro, and close in round the city with some 25,000 men. Most prominent among the Liberal generals were Régules, Treviño, Riva Palacio, and Aureliano Rivera, the last of whom had once been a coachman in private service. The troops were of very varied quality; many of them were badly equipped — large portions of the infantry had no clothing but a shirt, white cotton trousers, and sandals — and there was a shortage of munitions, so that they were often unable to use their good American arms effectively. Their numbers were sufficient to hold the heights round the town with a thin line, but they had not enough reserves behind the line. Thus the garrison had a good opportunity for successful sorties.

The town had been surrounded from March 6, though the beleaguering force was a mere screen, which could have been broken through anywhere. But so as to discourage the defenders from keeping up a connexion with the outer world by scouts, whenever any messengers were seized by the Juaristas, they were strung up without mercy on the nearest tree. At points which had to be passed were to be found wretched imperialist soldiers who had fallen into the hands of the *guerrilleros,* hung up by the feet from a lasso, and with their skulls shattered. This sight was intended to terrorize the populace, and succeeded only too well.

During the first days when they were surrounded, the Emperor had expected an attack from the beleaguering forces, and held his men in readiness; but nothing happened. As time went on, his bivouac on the Cerro de la Campana became irksome, and the main beleaguering forces appeared to be to the north and west of the town; so the Emperor moved his headquarters to the Convent of La Cruz.

On the following day Escobedo proceeded to attack in earnest. The main assault, which was accompanied by a demonstration against the Cerro de la Campana, was aimed at the bridge to the north of the city and the convent itself; but it was beaten off with considerable loss to the enemy. Prince Salm distinguished himself by his personal courage, and took a cannon with his own hand. The Emperor Maximilian re-

mained calm and cool. At three o'clock in the afternoon Escobedo stopped this costly attempt, which had resulted in no more than the occupation of the hill of San Gregorio, situated nearer the town. The Emperor at once mounted his horse and rode out to the advanced line of the troops, intoxicating himself with their enraptured shouts of "*Viva el emperador,*" regardless of the fact that each time the shout went up, the enemy fired on the spot from which it came.

This luckless attack led to some depression in the Juarista camp, which would have had grave consequences for Escobedo's army if it had been taken advantage of by the imperialist garrison for a counter-attack. Instead of this, they again had recourse to a council, at which Salm's proposal to attack was rejected. Thus Escobedo's troops were again given time for recovery.[7] All the same, Maximilian's confidence had been strengthened by this success, and he expressed his joy in lively terms in the letters which he wrote to Mexico. He at once renewed his requests to the Minister of the Imperial Household to send him the sums long due from the civil list, for he had not yet received the March quota of 10,000 pesos which had been promised him, and did not know how he was to meet his most ordinary needs.[8]

It was decided at a council of war to recapture at least the hill of San Gregorio, but the attack had once more to be given up, for on the appointed morning, March 17, the troops were late in taking up their positions. The same thing happened three days later, when a surprise attack upon an enemy supply column had been projected. Meanwhile victuals and forage began to run short, and the supplies of munitions dwindled so alarmingly that vigorous measures had to be devised to put an end to a situation which had become intolerable.

A council of war was once more summoned for March 20. It was all the harder to come to a decision because Querétaro, which lay off the main line of communication from Mexico

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[7] For a more detailed account of the attack see Felix Salm, op. cit., p. 51, et seq.; Schmit von Tavera, op. cit., II. 310; Gaulot, op. cit., p. 516, et seq.

[8] The Emperor Maximilian to Sanchez Navarro, drafts of March 17 and 18, 1867. V. N. A.

City to the port of Vera Cruz through Puebla, had been chosen as the imperialist centre. Porfirio Dias was seriously threatening Puebla. If this city fell, one of the most important points on this line would be in the enemy's hands, the last avenue of communication with the outside world would be blocked, and, moreover, the loss of the customs receipts of Vera Cruz would deprive the Emperor of a source of revenue which promised to be productive once more, now that the French had gone.[9]

Meanwhile General Marquez had been intriguing busily. He was not content with his position as Chief of the Staff. He was loath to stay in the beleaguered town, where he was among so many other distinguished generals and personages, and so could not move so freely or act so independently as he would be able to do if he returned to Mexico City. He therefore persuaded the Emperor that his Conservative ministers in the capital were "old women"; what was wanted there was an energetic and capable general to set things in order and provide financial and military aid for the army engaged at Querétaro, which had so far been completely neglected. Marquez won over Generals Mejía and Miramón by holding out a prospect of reinforcements, which he meant to bring in person from Mexico City. He further represented to the Emperor that nothing but the establishment of a dictatorial authority and the appointment of a trusty general as Minister-President — meaning himself — could give a favourable turn to things, even at the last moment.

By the time the council of war met, Marquez had talked all the members over to his way of thinking; Maximilian stayed away from it "so as not to interfere with the freedom of their decisions." Conscious that he was himself incapable of coming to a decision, the Emperor placed his fate in the hands of others, while inwardly hoping that the council would not want to give up Querétaro, but would find some means which should offer a prospect of ultimate success. Of the Mexican generals present, Mendez abstained from expressing any opinion, Castillo and Vidaurri advocated continuing the defence, Mejía the same, but with the intention of attacking later in the event

[9] See Report on the Council of War. V. N. A.

of further reinforcements arriving. Marquez and Miramón supported this view, and recommended that, for the present, minor offensive operations should be undertaken for improving the general position of their beleaguered army.

It was accordingly proposed to the Emperor to dispatch General Marquez to the capital with a thousand horse. Having set things to rights there, he was to attack the enemy before Querétaro in the rear, with the whole garrison and all the reinforcements at his disposal. These proposals quite fitted in with the Emperor's intentions. He joyfully agreed to them, appointed Marquez "*lieutenant de l'empire,*" gave him full powers, and, at his prompting, dismissed most of the ministers and entrusted him with the formation of a new cabinet. In short, he handed over the control of affairs entirely to this general, giving as his reason that, for the moment, military considerations must come first, on which account he had had to provide the "distinguished and diligent" Marquez with extensive powers.[10]

This time Marquez had provided for all emergencies. He knew that Maximilian had recently exposed himself to the enemy's fire purposely, and often placed himself in the front rank of the fight, and it might happen that he would one day be killed or taken prisoner. Marquez was trying to secure his own position in the event of this happening, and induced the Emperor to draw up a document which formed, as it were, his political testament: Marquez, Theodosio Lares, and Lacunza were appointed regents and charged to summon a constituent congress. By this means the general and his associates tried to feather their own nests, and they would not have been altogether sorry if the Emperor's person had no longer been in view in connexion with the Government of Mexico. Maximilian now seemed to be no more than a pawn in the game of this political gambler.

The Emperor took the opportunity of Marquez's departure to send letters to the capital. One to Sanchez Navarro contained provisions for dealing with the Emperor's private

[10] The Emperor Maximilian to Sanchez Navarro, Querétaro, March 21, 1867; draft in V. N. A.

property — his silver and such of his other valuables as had not yet been sold, but had been placed in the custody of Fischer and Schaffer — especially in case the new lieutenant did not consider it necessary to hold the city of Mexico. Once more the Emperor made an urgent request for money. The prefect of the palace at Miramar had also written to him [11] about his financial difficulties, so Maximilian asked him for a detailed statement of accounts, and requested him to economize in the smallest details. And lastly he stopped Schertzenlechner's allowance, for he had heard that he was spreading slanderous reports in Europe.

Maximilian sent Father Fischer a few lines [12] explaining the mission of General Marquez, who was going to Mexico, he said, to call the " old women " to order, to raise their morale and at the same time to support and protect the Emperor's real friends. " Since," the letter ran, " it may happen in the course of the military operations that Mexico is deprived for some time of the full protection of the army, Marquez is to take you, Schaffer, and Günner with him in the centre of the troops." Next followed instructions to Fischer in this case to hand over the Emperor's private possessions to the English or Austrian Legation, but to bring with him the books, the lists of orders, and — the burgundy. " God be with you," concluded the letter. " In spite of all our difficulties, we are contented here and in good spirits, and are only intensely annoyed at the behaviour of the weak old fossils (*Perücken*) in Mexico, who are indulging in open treason out of sheer funk and feebleness. Hoping soon to meet in happy circumstances."

At Querétaro the Emperor Maximilian had discovered a number of the priest's tricks, and also learnt that the report that the reverend gentleman had several young children was quite true; [13] but in his present condition it was all the same to him, and he abstained from any harsh measures. What he

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[11] The Emperor Maximilian to Radonetz, Querétaro, March 22, 1867; draft in V. N. A.

[12] The Emperor Maximilian to Father Fischer, Querétaro, March 21, 1867; draft in V. N. A.

[13] See Basch, op. cit., II. 15.

would have liked best would have been to have Fischer back with him, for he was accustomed to being surrounded by dubious company.

And so Marquez, with 1200 of the best horsemen, left the beleaguered city during the night of March 22–3, while the garrison of Querétaro made a sortie in the opposite direction, passed unscathed through the ring of the beleaguering forces, with only an unimportant skirmish or two — which seems significant — and entered Mexico City on March 27.

The imperialist forces were now reduced to some 7000, after deducting casualties, whereas the beleaguering army had been increased by the arrival of reinforcements to some 40,000 men. The former were therefore outnumbered by at least five to one, so that, unless the town was relieved, there could be no doubt of the ultimate issue.

But Maximilian had now another hope to cling to: the return of General Marquez with large reinforcements. The thought of it buoyed the Emperor up; his health had improved since the beginning of the siege, but now became noticeably worse under the influence of his worries and exertions, and the food, which was getting worse and worse. Maximilian was once more attacked by fever and dysentery, which weakened his powers of resistance.

Meanwhile anxiety was felt in Europe for the Emperor's personal safety. The Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Baron Beust, instructed Prince Metternich on March 5 to inquire in Paris whether Maximilian was then in safety.[14] He observed that Maximilian must be defended against possible reprisals, and emphasized the importance of obtaining formal assurances on the subject from Napoleon. The Ambassador at once waited upon Napoleon, who received him immediately, and said that it went without saying that he would offer all guarantees, if the Emperor would leave with the French troops. After their embarkation, however, he could unfortunately do no more for him. The fact remained that, after the departure of the French troops, Maximilian had gone to a distance of forty kilometres from the capital, and placed

[14] Beust to Metternich, March 5, 1867. V. N. A.

himself at the head of guerrilla forces; he was therefore bound to take the consequences of his action, which was not lacking in grandeur, but involved dangers from which France could hardly protect him. Metternich paid a second visit to the Tuileries, and begged Napoleon at least to take some thought for the protection of the man who owed it to him that he was now exposed to a thousand dangers.[15]

But it was all in vain. Now that the French troops had left Mexico, Napoleon stood helpless before the development of events.

The Austrian Minister in Washington, Baron Wydenbruck, also began to be filled with grave anxiety. He had received an alarming letter from Cincinnati, from the Austrian staff captain Friedrich Hotze, who had stayed behind on the departure of the volunteer corps, but had refused to become General Marquez's chief of staff, and wanted to return to the Austrian army. Desirous of helping Maximilian as far as was still in his power, the captain declared that the question was how to save his life, and possibly to spare the world a bloody tragedy and the imperial family in Vienna a great grief.[16] He wanted Wydenbruck to ask Seward to intervene, and himself offered to deliver the letter to Juarez in person. Hotze had been commandant of the President's native province of Oaxaca for a year, and on friendly terms with near relations of his. He therefore hoped to be able to fulfil this mission successfully.

Wydenbruck waited upon Seward and persuaded him to write on April 7 to L. D. Campbell, the United States Minister accredited to Juarez and living in New Orleans, saying that, in view of the shooting of the French prisoners *en masse* at Zacatecas, he was to request Juarez, in the event of the fall of Querétaro and the capture of the Emperor, to treat the latter as civilized nations treat prisoners of war. Baron Wydenbruck was moreover instructed by Beust on April 14 to request the intervention of the American Government with

[15] Metternich to Beust, March 7, 1867. V. N. A.

[16] Captain Friedrich Hotze to Baron Wydenbruck, Cincinnati, April 4, 1867. V. N. A.

Juarez with the object of requesting him to respect the person of the Emperor Maximilian.

His actions, which had borne witness to undoubted personal bravery, had aroused sympathy in the United States; Seward's *démarche* therefore met with general approval. But Juarez was jealously bent upon maintaining his independence towards the United States. He returned a polite answer to Campbell's note, which reached him only after great delay, but met it with a refusal. Meanwhile, on March 24, the Juaristas had carried out a vigorous attack on Querétaro, which was heroically driven off by the garrison. But they used up so much of their munitions, and sustained such losses, that the victory left them decidedly weaker.

General Mendez, who was strongly opposed to Miramón, urged Prince Salm [17] to induce the Emperor to leave Querétaro, for they could only lose both life and honour there. But Salm was more optimistic, and kept inspiring the Emperor with fresh courage. Besides Salm, who had become his inseparable companion, the Emperor was very much with Lopez, who was often his sole attendant on his frequent visits to the lines. The men, who were not used to seeing their commander-in-chief among them so much, were touched by the Emperor's bearing, and his anxious questions about whether they received their pay and supplies regularly. Their personal loyalty to the monarch increased daily, and wherever he appeared, shouts went up of *"Viva el emperador!"* till at last the generals forbade them to cheer, as it attracted the enemy's attention to the Emperor's whereabouts.

On March 30 the Emperor assembled the generals, officers, and men for a distribution of medals for valour, whereupon the officer of highest rank, General Miramón, suddenly stepped forward, approached the Emperor, and, in the name of the army, pinned the same mark of distinction on his breast as he had just presented to his soldiers, saying that he deserved it more than any of them.

This little scene touched the Emperor deeply. He was filled with a glow of happiness, which enabled him to forget for a

[17] See Felix Salm, op. cit., p. 92.

moment his thousand cares and anxieties, and even the appalling gravity of the situation.

On April 1, the garrison attempted the sortie which Miramón had proposed earlier in order to recapture the heights of San Gregorio.[18] But it did not attain its objective. They lost heavily, and the ruthless proceedings of the enemy, who killed the wounded and sent their bodies floating down the river into the town, had a demoralizing effect upon the imperial garrison.

And now the day came when Marquez ought to have arrived at Querétaro with the promised reinforcements. But he did not come, and no news was received from him. Suddenly a rumour spread through the town that he had been defeated, and that this accounted for his long absence. Victuals and supplies now ran very short. Maximilian began to doubt the general's good faith.

In spite of all these anxieties, April 10, the anniversary of the reception of the Mexican deputation at Miramar and the acceptance of the crown, was celebrated with festivities. Three years had gone by since that day, and not one of those who had then protested their devotion to the Emperor was now at his side, while the troops of the nation kept him beleaguered in a little town with the last adherents of an impotent party. Napoleon's marshal and the French, by whom Maximilian had set such store, had gone, the Emperor and Empress of the French had withdrawn their support. Such was the result of three years of unremitting and well-meaning efforts, to which the Empress Charlotte had already fallen a victim.

The hostility between Miramón and Mendez became more and more open. Mendez alleged that Miramón was betraying the Emperor, and that his advice would lead straight to ruin. He tried to make an impression upon Salm, whose growing intimacy with the Emperor was generally commented upon, but who, as Fürstenwärther relates,[19] did not worry about the future, and was therefore not fit to bring home to the Emperor

[18] See the detailed description of the battle by Prince Salm, who took an honourable part in it, op. cit., p. 96 et seq.

[19] Baron J. L. Fürstenwärther: *Kaiser Maximilian von Mexiko*, ed. Alois Veltzé (Vienna, 1910).

the gravity of the situation. The Emperor's "latest adviser," as he was distrustfully called in the imperial army, though essentially an adventurer, was a brave and trusty man. His courageous devotion had stood every test brilliantly. Maximilian, who had a fine appreciation of true personal loyalty and sympathy, became a true friend of the Prince during the last weeks of his life. Salm repeated to the Emperor word for word what Mendez had said:[20] namely, that the Emperor ought to authorize him (Mendez) to arrest Miramón, and then, with Mejía and him, break through into the mountainous region of the Sierra Gorda, where he would once more have a free hand. Otherwise, Mendez declared, they would all be shot without a doubt. Maximilian did not take the proposal seriously; he considered that Mendez took too dark a view of matters, and that all was not yet lost. The scheme was in his eyes too like flight.

On the other hand, the Emperor resolved to send first Mejía, and then, when he fell sick, his confidant Salm, back to Mexico City to set matters to rights. Salm was to represent to Marquez the distressed condition of the garrison of Querétaro, which had been living on horse-flesh for six days past, to demand an answer from him within twenty-four hours, and return with the whole of the cavalry. Salm even received full powers to arrest Marquez should the necessity arise, and to instruct Count Khevenhüller and the other officers commanding the European troops to obey Salm's orders alone. Even now Maximilian had not given up hope of reaching a settlement by negotiation with Juarez or other Liberals. He insisted once more in these instructions that he would not yield of his own free will, unless he could hand over his mandate to a lawful congress.

On April 17 Salm was to break through the enemy's lines, but his intention was apparently betrayed to the enemy. Wherever the Prince tried to break through, he came up against strong enemy infantry. This is his own account. Others assert that Miramón deceived him as to the strength of the enemy, since he wanted to prevent Marquez from returning.

[20] See Felix Salm, op. cit., p. 112.

However that may be, Salm abandoned the project of leaving Querétaro.

The Emperor was obviously disappointed; but he still hoped that Marquez would arrive, or that Salm would yet succeed in breaking through. He became even more fond of him, attached him to his staff, and appointed him aide-de-camp.

Meanwhile distress was increasing. Even the Emperor now had his scrap of daily bread doled out to him by the nuns of a neighbouring convent, who used the flour reserved for the Host to make it. Grave symptoms of disintegration began to appear among the troops. A number of officers, headed by a general, even addressed a petition to General Mejía that negotiations might be entered into with the enemy for a capitulation. Though the ringleaders were at once arrested, precautions had to be taken to prevent the movement from spreading. In the long run, the various devices adopted by the Emperor, such as decorations, the conferring of honorary titles upon the various units, and so forth, were of little use. But the overwhelming majority of the garrison were still staunch, and if help came from Mexico, as anticipated, all might still be saved. But the reinforcements for which they had hoped were also in a bad way.

In sending off General Marquez, the Emperor had laid the greatest stress upon his speedy return to Querétaro, but there had also been some talk of Puebla, and, owing to the general's full powers, he might, if he felt it to be justified, first aim a hasty blow at Porfirio Diaz, who was making his pressure felt upon Puebla, before proceeding farther. Should he succeed in this, he would be able to use not only part of the garrison of Mexico, but also part of the garrison of Puebla, to relieve Querétaro.

On March 30 he started for Puebla by very slow marches, with the main force from Mexico City. When Porfirio Diaz heard of Marquez's approach, he decided to try a general assault on Puebla on April 2, so as to dispose of the town before the arrival of the relieving forces. The assault was successful, and General Noriega, who had no idea that relief was so near, capitulated to Porfirio Diaz on the morning of April 4. When

Marquez heard of this, he gave orders to march back to Mexico City. The bad tidings spread like wildfire among his troops. Only the Europeans bore up bravely; there could be no question of their deserting to the Liberal side. Porfirio Diaz at once turned his full force against Marquez. On April 10 his advance guard came up with the retreating imperialist column, whose artillery could not advance, owing to the natural obstacles of the ground. Panic spread through the imperialist ranks, and the column was almost entirely scattered. The artillerymen cut the horses' traces, mounted the teams, and took to flight. Marquez himself abandoned his troops, and returned to Mexico City with a handful of horsemen. It was only thanks to the bravery of Colonel Kodolitsch and his hussars, who stemmed the onward advance of the enemy, that the fragments of the column at last reached Mexico City, where this defeat produced a profound effect. Though the city was purposely kept in the dark, and favourable reports on the situation at Querétaro were officially circulated, the imperial cause was everywhere given up for lost.

Maximilian first heard a rumour of General Marquez's defeat on April 22, but at first concealed the news from the population and the army. On the same day an emissary from the Liberals appeared with a flag of truce; he called upon them to capitulate, and declared that the Emperor would be allowed to depart in freedom. Miramón rejected these proposals and began to make political suggestions directed against Juarez, into which the envoy declined to enter. Maximilian would have nothing to do with negotiations in which guarantees were offered only for his own personal safety. And so they came to nothing, and the fighting went on.

Once more the imperialists were to give proof of their dash and courage, heightened by their enthusiasm for Maximilian's person. Miramón at last yielded to those who were pressing him to make a sortie in force, break through the beleaguering army, and escape from the trap. The attack was fixed for the morning of April 27, and was to have been directed against the heights of El Cimatario, which dominated the town from the south-west. The first attack succeeded

beyond all expectations. The enemy's line was completely dislodged from its positions and rolled up; twenty-one guns and many flags were captured; and a number of prisoners taken. The enemy fled along the whole line of attack. Escobedo had to exert himself on all sides to find reinforcements and bring up his best troops, among them the regiment of the *Supremos poderes,* a sort of guards. But this was bound to take hours, and Miramón should have taken advantage of this respite if he really intended to break through in earnest. But after the successes they had obtained, the general was convinced that they could gain the victory, even if they stayed in Querétaro.

The Emperor, who had hastened out to the troops in his delight, allowed himself to be convinced by Miramón. This victory confirmed his confidence in the young general, but it was not followed up; so that Escobedo was given time to retrieve his loss of the heights, though, on the admission of some of the Liberal leaders, their situation was extremely critical for a time.

Sorties were made with small success on May 1 and 2, which merely overtasked the strength of the crippled garrison; the Emperor's confidence in Miramón's assertion that they could still break through whenever they wanted to began to be shaken. It was now that General Mendez's opinion began to prevail, that all small engagements were useless, and that it was advisable to concentrate all their forces and make one great attempt to break through.

The Emperor kept rejecting the suggestions repeatedly made to him that he should cut his way out with an escort, as unworthy of his honour as a soldier. Even Salm joined in the petition that Maximilian should try to reach safety. The Emperor at last began to become reconciled to this idea, and requested his generals to compose a document justifying him in the eyes of history, for which he cared more than for his life.[21]

Meanwhile he had become convinced of the gravity of the situation; but he could see no way out, and now only longed for a merciful bullet. During the sortie on April 27, which was followed by a counter-attack by the enemy, Maximilian repeat-

[21] Masseras, op. cit., p. 240.

edly exposed himself in the most foolhardy manner, and it was only by dint of urgent representations that his entourage could bring him back from the zone of greatest danger. But early in May it became evident that the Emperor was seeking his death. For hours on end he lingered in places where men had just fallen; restless and troubled he walked down the lines, regardless of Salm's entreaties to spare himself. The Emperor thought that if he were to die, a less wretched fate would befall the city and its inhabitants than if he abandoned it. His domestic happiness was ruined, nothing but vexations awaited him at home, he was weary of the struggle and had no hope or ambition left.

The state of the town grew worse and worse. The water-supply had been cut off by the enemy, the populace were suffering acute distress, and the shortage of pay and supplies was sapping the fidelity of the garrison, which had now dwindled to five thousand men. There were even French officers and men serving in the imperialist army who offered to go over to General Escobedo, but they met with a contemptuous rebuff. During these days Colonel Lopez had drawn closer to the Emperor, and again encouraged him to believe that he might yet succeed in coming to terms with Juarez and the Liberals. Lopez saw that things could not go on like this, and that all was lost, himself included, unless a peaceful solution could be found even at the last moment. But the colonel kept his own counsel. Nobody in the Emperor's entourage knew anything of his plans, and even to him he merely hinted mysteriously at the possibility of arranging matters with the enemy, and obtaining a general pardon for all concerned. It is probable, though not proved, that Lopez had received some vague advances from the Liberal side.[22]

At last all the generals, and even the Emperor himself, recognized that no more time was to be lost if they were to try another sortie. By Miramón's suggestion May 10 was chosen for carrying it out. But at the last moment misgivings again

[22] Baron Magnus in his account is of opinion that Lopez had already been in touch with Escobedo before May 14; but the latter entirely contradicts this in his *Manifesto sobre la toma di Querétaro.*

arose, the Emperor hesitated, perhaps owing to Lopez's representations, and summoned a council of war for the 14th, to decide upon the final arrangements. On the previous night Colonel Lopez had visited the enemy's camp and opened his negotiations.[23]

The council of war settled that the break through was to take place at midnight on the night of the 14th–15th. The place at which the attempt was to be made was not to be arranged till ten o'clock at night,[24] in order to prevent treachery. All possible preparations were made, though Mejía once more asked for a postponement of twenty-four hours. About eleven o'clock at night Lopez waited upon the Emperor and remained alone with him in confidential consultation. On this occasion Maximilian decorated the colonel with the medal for valour, and begged him to put a bullet through him [25] if he could not escape capture during the decisive hour that was approaching. Lopez must have aroused fresh hopes in Maximilian that he would succeed in negotiating an arrangement honourable to the Emperor and his army, and tolerable to the city and its inhabitants. Perhaps Lopez himself still believed in the illusory hopes held out to him by the Liberals.

So the Emperor again issued a counter-order, and arranged that the sortie should not take place till the night of the 15th –16th. Shortly after his interview with Maximilian, Lopez once more visited Escobedo's headquarters. He was received

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[23] In the report, which is in my possession, from the political chief of Lower California to General Francisco O. Arce, Governor of the State of Guerrero Bravo, dated La Paz, July 30, 1887, it is stated that *on May 14* the General received the order through *Colonel Rincón Gallardo* to receive an enemy leader from the Convent of La Cruz and bring him into the camp. At eleven o'clock at night he met Lopez, and escorted him back again at dawn on the 15th. The same thing happened during the night of the 16th. This must be a mistake, the nights of the 13th–14th and 14–15th being meant. On the other hand, the Emperor Maximilian told Baron Lago that Lopez had got into touch with Escobedo for the first time four days before the betrayal — i.e., on the 11th — and offered to betray him for the sum of 2000 onces (gold) of which only about 7000 piastres (gold) were subsequently paid to him. The Emperor reckoned that Lopez had sold him and his troops for some eleven reals a head. Baron Lago to Baron Beust, private letter, June 25, 1867. V. N. A.

[24] See Salm, op. cit., p. 174.

[25] See Basch, op. cit., II .134.

as on the previous day and conducted to the commander-in-chief. At his first interview with Lopez the latter had obtained confirmation of the desperate condition of the imperialists, with which he was already acquainted from the many accounts given by deserters; and he acted accordingly. He seems now to have demanded an unconditional surrender, and Lopez was at last subjected to personal threats if he did not go over to the Liberal side and give up to them the Convent of La Cruz, the garrison of which he commanded as head of the imperialist reserve brigade. But personal safety and liberty were guaranteed to him in the event of his compliance, and no doubt other advantages too.

Lopez was unable to resist these threats and promises; he turned traitor and accepted Escobedo's proposition. Yet he had some pity and personal sympathy for the Emperor, who had loaded him with benefits during the whole of his reign, though the colonel had been turned out of the army in the time of Santa Anna for insulting conduct. Lopez seems to have persuaded Escobedo to spare the Emperor. The general considered that the capture of Maximilian was bound to be a great embarrassment to Juarez, and that the latter would probably be nothing but grateful to him if the Emperor were quietly allowed to escape. So, without giving a definite assent, Escobedo seems to have given Lopez to understand that he was to see to it that the Emperor did not fall into the hands of the enemy, and that no obstacles would be placed in his way, always providing that everything else was given up to the Liberals with little loss, as arranged.

Lopez agreed, and at once returned to La Cruz to make his preparations. He took one of his subordinates, a certain Jablonski, into his confidence, and saw to it that the guards who might have upset his plans, and the guns commanding the approaches, should be removed.[26]

Meanwhile Escobedo had given orders for preparations to be made quietly to occupy La Cruz and the city at three o'clock in the morning. By this time Lopez had already returned and

[26] For details see Albert Hans: *Querétaro, Erinnerungen eines Offiziers des Kaisers Maximilian,* p. 275 et seq.

joined General Vélez and his Colonel Gallardo at the head of the column told off for this purpose.

When it reached the imperialist lines, the traitor made himself known to the sentries who were still left; they lowered their arms and were at once taken prisoner. The other outposts were surprised in the same way, so that the Juaristas arrived in the imperial headquarters without firing a shot.

Meanwhile the Emperor, who had sat up till one o'clock in the morning after the colonel left him, had gone to bed, but could not sleep for excitement. At half past two he was seized with such a violent colic that he sent for Dr. Basch, who stayed with him for an hour. It was not till then that the Emperor fell asleep for a short time.

At about half past four Colonel Lopez, having led the enemy's best troops, the *Supremos poderes,* into the imperial headquarters, entered Prince Salm's room [27] and shouted as if distraught: "Quick, save the Emperor's life, the enemy is already in La Cruz!" Then, with no further explanation, he rushed out, slamming the door. Maximilian's private secretary, Don José Blasio,[28] was likewise warned by Lieutenant-Colonel Jablonski, Lopez's fellow conspirator. Blasio at once went to Maximilian, woke him in a hurry, and told him what had happened. The Emperor got up and dressed, bewildered and as pale as death after his bad night, but comparatively calm. While Blasio hurried off to spread the alarm, Dr. Basch came in. The Emperor was already prepared, and had drawn his sabre to defend himself. As Maximilian was descending the stairs, Prince Salm came up, seized the Emperor by the left arm in his agitation, and exclaimed: "Your Majesty, it is high time, the enemy is here." [29]

As the Emperor stepped from under the porch with four companions, his way was suddenly blocked by Juarista soldiers. Then Colonel Lopez and the Liberal leader Colonel Gallardo stepped forward and sent them about their business, saying: "Let them pass, they are ordinary citizens."

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[27] See Felix Salm, op. cit., p. 176.
[28] See Blasio, op. cit., p. 39.
[29] Felix Salm, op cit., p. 178.

Gallardo thus publicly redeemed the promise given to Lopez that Maximilian's escape should be facilitated. But the Emperor was not thinking of his own safety, but of the fate of his two faithful companions Miramón and Mejía, to whom he sent word that he was going to the Cerro de la Campana, and that they were to follow with as many troops as possible. He refused the offer to find him a safe hiding-place. He would not hide in the hour of danger.

Meanwhile unprecedented confusion prevailed in the town; the Liberals had crowded in on all sides, and the imperialist troops surrendered or went over to the enemy. Suddenly all the bells in the city rang out in the dawn, in token of the Juaristas' triumph. "Mama Carlotta," a scurrilous song about the Empress, was sung in chorus everywhere. Tears rose to Maximilian's eyes. Meanwhile officers and horsemen of the imperialist army gathered round their master on the Cerro. Miramón had been wounded in the face in the attempt to resist, and was lying prostrate in a friend's house. Mejía had appeared on the Cerro. Enemy troops were already closing in round the group on the hill. Maximilian turned to Mejía and asked him whether there was still a possibility of cutting their way through. With a gesture of despair Mejía replied that it was impossible.

"Salm," said the Emperor, turning to his aide-de-camp, "now for a lucky bullet." [30] But those who are looking for a bullet never find it, and those who are trying to avoid it find it only too easily. The Emperor remained unscathed, and had to drain the cup to the dregs.

Once more Maximilian turned to Mejía, to ask whether there was anything to be done; once more the brave Indian had to say no. The Emperor hastily made his secretary Blasio burn two little packets with important papers; then he gave orders to hoist the white flag, and sent to notify Escobedo of his surrender. Meanwhile the hill was closely surrounded by the enemy. Fire gradually spread through the city. Leaning upon his sabre, Maximilian calmly awaited the arrival of an enemy officer, who was approaching at the head of his staff.

[30] See Felix Salm, op. cit., p. 183.

General Echegaray advanced towards the Emperor, saying courteously: "Your Majesty is my prisoner."

Maximilian only nodded, remarked that he was no longer Emperor, since the proclamation of his abdication was already in the hands of the Council of State, and asked to be conducted to General Escobedo. Calm and composed, surrounded by a group of imperialist officers, Maximilian rode to meet Escobedo, who was approaching with a numerous suite. His officers formed a ring round the Emperor. Then they all rode back to the Cerro de la Campana, where they alighted from their horses. Maximilian unbuckled his sabre and handed it to Escobedo, who, after some hesitation, and with visible embarrassment, handed it to his aide-de-camp.[31]

Escobedo next invited the Emperor to enter a tent which had been hastily put up.[32] The two men stood facing each other in silence for a time, the Emperor waiting for Escobedo to speak first. As he did not do so, the Emperor began to speak very solemnly in a steady voice. He laid stress upon the point that he had already abdicated in March, and asked that no more blood might be shed. But if bloodshed were necessary, let them be content to take his life only. Otherwise he requested that he might be taken to any port of embarkation, since his only wish now was to leave Mexico. But he asked that his household might be well treated, on account of the fidelity and valour which they had displayed in hard times.

Escobedo gave an evasive answer. He would duly report the Emperor's wishes to his Government, but must await its decision, and till then would treat the Emperor and all his officers and adherents as prisoners of war. Thereupon Escobedo departed, instructing General Riva Palacio to take the Emperor back to La Cruz, which he managed tactfully by a roundabout way. When Maximilian alighted from his horse before La Cruz, he presented it to the general as an acknowledgment of his considerate behaviour.

And so Querétaro had fallen, after a brave defence lasting

[31] Lieutenant-Colonel Platón Sanchez, afterwards president of the court-martial.
[32] The only account of this interview in existence is Escobedo's official report. See Schmit von Tavera, op. cit., II. 372.

seventy-one days, and the Emperor and all his friends were taken prisoner. The enemy's colours were flying in all parts of the city, but the inhabitants maintained their reserve, in spite of the crushing burdens and distress of every sort which they had had to bear during the siege. The Emperor had won the hearts of all the townspeople by the magic of his personality, his magnanimity and truly princely bearing, and they remained true to him even in misfortune. After the capture of the town many ladies would appear only in black. The sympathy of the inhabitants also found expression in other details. When the Emperor's headquarters were occupied, some of his personal possessions, including linen and clothing, had been stolen. The monarch had absolutely no money and was forced to ask Escobedo for food. As soon as this was heard of in the city, ladies sent him well-cooked meals daily, and provided him lavishly with linen and all necessaries, so that Maximilian said jestingly that he had never had so much underclothing in his life as in prison. The marketwomen of the city sent the Emperor fruit and vegetables during the early days of his imprisonment, and a German merchant disinterestedly provided him with money.

Escobedo had issued a summons to all imperialist officers to give themselves up within twenty-four hours, otherwise they would be shot on the spot wherever they were found. May 15, a date which had been particularly welcome to Maximilian for the sortie, since it was his mother's name-day, had brought him no luck. But ultimately the result must be attributed to the Emperor's character. His painful anxiety not to fail in any point of honour and sacrifice others in order to save himself, his constant hope for a stroke of luck which should give things a turn for the good, his indecision in always seeking for advice from others, and his lack of ruthless and decisive energy, had led the Emperor to captivity. Colonel Lopez's action was a mere episode, which precipitated the end and gave the whole course of events a more tragic turn than it would otherwise have taken.

On arriving at La Cruz, the Emperor was momentarily overwhelmed with grief at the catastrophe. He tearfully

embraced his physician, Dr. Basch. But he soon recovered himself, and remarked that, at any rate, he was glad that not much blood had been shed. But the emotions through which he had passed had made serious inroads upon his enfeebled constitution. There was an alarming recrudescence of his abdominal complaint. He went to bed, but enjoyed little rest, for there was a constant stream of Juarista officers desirous of satisfying their curiosity. Another lodging having become necessary, owing to the state of the Emperor's health, Maximilian and his attendants were removed on May 17 from La Cruz to a former convent of Discalced Carmelites. The apartments which he occupied were at first absolutely bare and empty, and were not provided with the most necessary appointments till after his arrival. Maximilian there learnt that General Mendez, who had hidden himself on the enemy's approach, had been discovered and shot without further ado. They had intended to shoot him in the back as a traitor, but he turned sharply round at the last moment, so as to die like a brave soldier, with his face towards the enemy. But it was Mendez who had had Arteaga and Salazar shot, in accordance with the decree of October 3, and it was obvious that he was being treated with particular severity out of revenge. They tried to hide his end from the Emperor, but the Juaristas themselves told him about it.

On that day — it was May 19 — the Princess Agnes Salm, wife of the aide-de-camp, arrived at Querétaro on her way from San Luis Potosí. She had there met President Juarez, and, like a brave and energetic woman, on hearing of the capture of the Emperor and her husband, hastened to them at once. She was particularly clever at getting wherever and whatever she wanted, in which her name and beauty were of great assistance to her. She even managed to see Escobedo, who gave her permission to visit Maximilian and her husband.

Escobedo was in a very difficult position towards his exalted prisoners. If he were to treat the Emperor ruthlessly or cruelly, he would incur a grave responsibility in the eyes of the whole world; if he showed mercy, it might endanger his popularity, and hence his prospects of the presidency, for which he was

secretly striving.[33] And so, though those around him were thirsting for the Emperor's blood, he preferred to leave the responsibility for his prisoner's fate entirely to Juarez, and confine himself to carrying out the orders of the republican Government with meticulous exactitude.

Escobedo visited the Emperor in his captivity during the earliest days. But Maximilian desired to discuss his position with the general at length. Since no opportunity offered itself, he sent to ask the general whether he might return his visit. On receiving an answer in the affirmative, the Emperor drove on that same afternoon in an open carriage, without guards, and escorted only by Prince and Princess Salm, to the Hacienda de La Purísima, near the city, where Escobedo was then staying. It so happened that the general had relatives visiting him that day, and had therefore sent for a military band. The general was embarrassed, for he was afraid he might compromise his dignity if he sent it away, while on the other hand he was naturally afraid that Maximilian might regard its presence as wanting in delicacy. He begged the general to let him leave the country with all his European officers and troops, in return for which he would pledge himself to abdicate officially and give a solemn promise never to interfere in Mexican politics again. Moreover, he recommended moderation to all former adherents of the Empire and submission to the republican Government. Escobedo was very reserved with the Emperor, and observed briefly that he would send all his proposals to President Juarez for decision; upon which the Emperor returned to his confinement.

But Juarez refused to listen to the Emperor's requests. He was determined to make this enemy, who had once made him flee to the farthest limits of his native land, feel the revenge of his conqueror. In accordance with the President's instructions, a stricter guard was kept over the Emperor, for it had at first been lax, and the easy treatment by which, for instance, he had been allowed to receive all visitors was made more severe. The officer responsible for keeping guard over Maximilian

[33] From the report of Baron Magnus to his Government, San Luis Potosí, August 19, 1867; copy in V. N. A.

declared that the convent was unsuitable for the purpose, so Maximilian was moved to a convent of Capuchin nuns, where the apartments destined for him were not yet ready. The commandant, a bitter adversary of the Emperor's, let him spend the night in the former crypt of the convent. His sojourn there was rendered all the more sinister by the depressing news which he received there from Juarez's capital.[34] Maximilian was afterwards moved to a cell in the convent, Miramón and Mejía being in adjoining cells, with the doors open. Sentinels were stationed before all the doors. The Emperor's cell, six feet long by four wide, with a red-tiled floor, contained a camp-bed, with a crucifix at its head, and a mahogany table with two silver candlesticks on it. A second table and several chairs completed the appointments. The crucifix and the silver candlesticks were a bad omen, for in Mexico it was the custom to place these in the cell of prisoners condemned to death. Moreover, Juarez had in the mean time given orders that the monarch and Generals Miramón and Mejía should be tried by court-martial. This entirely altered the situation. The three prisoners were henceforth regarded as malefactors, and, in view of the acts of which they were accused, only the law promulgated by President Juarez on January 25, 1862 could apply to them. This law, as we know, not only forbade Mexican's to lend any assistance to foreign intervention in Mexico, under pain of death, but also threatened with death foreigners who should infringe the independence of Mexico.

It appears that Lopez, the only imperialist officer who was not captured, but had even received a pass which guaranteed him full liberty of movement, inquired whether Maximilian would receive him. But the Emperor refused to see the man who owed him nothing but benefits, to whose child he had stood godfather, and who had requited him with treachery. Lopez was despised by imperialists and Liberals alike. He had been made use of, as men of his sort are, and then thrown aside. He now visited his wife at Puebla. As he entered his

[34] See Schmit von Tavera, op. cit., p. 381.

house, his young wife exclaimed:[35] "What have you done with our compadre?[36] Unless you can produce him again, I will know you no more." And she actually left the house, took refuge with relatives, and afterwards separated from her husband entirely.[37]

During these days Maximilian was torn between his natural instinct for self-preservation and the desire to maintain his honour. He still hoped that Juarez would not take extreme measures. He begged him to grant a delay, so that he might send to Mexico City for someone to defend him, and set his private affairs in order.[38] He telegraphed to the President requesting a personal interview, so that he might discuss the fate of Mexico with him; he even declared his readiness to wait upon Juarez, in spite of his illness. Juarez granted him the delay, but declined to meet him, and sent him a curt message by Escobedo that he might say all he had to say at his trial.

It was a triumph for Juarez, the Indian, that the proud scion of one of the oldest and most august sovereign houses of Europe, who numbered among his ancestors Charles V, the old oppressor of the Indian race and conqueror of the old empire of the Aztecs, should now be humbly begging for an interview with him, the descendant of a despised and enslaved race. For this very reason there was no hope of mercy. Besides, a meeting with the Emperor was bound to be embarrassing to Juarez, especially as he was determined not to relent towards his prisoner. The results of interference in the affairs of Mexico were to be made clear to all the world.

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[35] What follows is from the report of Baron Magnus, Prussian Minister in Mexico, August 19, 1867. V. N. A.

[36] The Spanish for godfather.

[37] Lopez attempted to defend himself against the charge of treachery in a pamphlet (see *Bibliography*), in which he endeavoured to establish that he had done everything by agreement with Maximilian. Salm and others contradicted this violently; there is no proof that Lopez took money, but the most decisive testimony against him is the way in which he was treated by the Liberals. Abandoned and despised by his family and all his former acquaintances, Lopez lived for some years longer in Mexico as an outcast, till he was bitten by a mad dog and died of hydrophobia.

[38] See Maximilian's letters and telegrams to Juarez, for instance in Veltze-Fürstenwärther, op. cit., p. 141.

Maximilian chose his two advocates from among the Liberals of Mexico, and taking it for granted that he could count upon no support from either the French or the Austrian Ministers, he requested the Prussian representative, Baron Magnus, to come to Querétaro, in order to discuss what might be done to save him. But a few days later an invitation was sent to Baron Lago to come to Querétaro. It is significant that so far he had remained entirely inactive.

Meanwhile the news had reached Europe that the Emperor Maximilian had been taken prisoner and that his life was in danger. The Courts now hastened to address a request to Washington that the Emperor might be saved from the worst. Accordingly on July 1 the American Minister accredited to Juarez, who had so far preferred to follow events in Mexico from a safe distance in New Orleans, received orders from Seward to wait upon the President as quickly as possible, and intercede for Maximilian and the other prisoners of war. But Campbell displayed but small desire to enter Mexican territory. An exchange of telegrams first took place between him and his chief as to what means of communication Campbell was to use. This exchange of communications continued till it was too late. Campbell's behaviour was, to say the least of it, equivocal. When, on June 11, he at last received definite orders from President Johnson to go to Juarez immediately, he reported that he was ill, and sent in his resignation.

And so there was no more hope for Maximilian from abroad. And now the young Emperor's instinct of self-preservation suggested flight as the last means of salvation.

Salm had several times exerted all his powers of persuasion to induce the Emperor to escape. He now at last succeeded in obtaining his consent, on condition that Miramón and Mejía were included in the plan. This noble impulse made the execution of the plan more uncertain, for the preparations made hitherto had concerned the Emperor's person only. Salm had already succeeded in bribing the officers and men on guard; it remained to be seen whether they would keep their promises. Fresh hopes revived in Maximilian; his sole anxiety was on account of his health, lest he might prove unable to endure the

hardships of flight. But he soon began to see himself in imagination free and master of his own decisions, and to draw up plans for the future with his secretary.[39] His idea was that, should he succeed in escaping, he would go first to London and then to Miramar, where he would write the history of his government. He also looked forward to travelling to Naples, Greece, and Turkey.

But while he was building these castles in the air, he remembered that he had written to the ministers in Mexico to come to Querétaro. What would they say if they did not find him there, but heard that the Emperor had fled? The Emperor's over-delicate sense of honour left him no peace; besides, perhaps the ministers would help him to obtain his freedom even without flight. Perhaps it was better not to attempt anything of the kind yet; how undignified it would be if by chance the Emperor of Mexico were caught escaping and brought back! He was also dubious on account of his appearance. The blond beard, parted in the middle, which was known throughout all Mexico, was bound to betray him. Such were the doubts which passed through the Emperor's mind. Once more his indecision made itself felt.

On June 2 — on the night following which the attempt to escape was to have been carried out — a telegram arrived saying that the Prussian Minister and the Emperor's two counsellors, de la Torre and Riva Palacio, had left Mexico; but by then Maximilian had resolved to stay. He sent for Salm and told him the escape must be postponed; a few days more or less made no difference. In vain they pointed out that all preparations had been made and the sentinels won over; he persisted in his refusal. This was all the more regrettable because the Liberal Government might even now have been glad to see themselves spared the responsibility of the Emperor's trial, for the army and many partisans of the Liberals were thirsting for revenge. And so once more a favourable opportunity was lost.

On June 3 Magnus and the Emperor's counsel arrived in Querétaro, followed by Lago. They received permission to

[39] See Blasio, op. cit., p. 389.

visit Maximilian. His counsel at once realized that if he were brought to trial, the only possible verdict was that of death. On June 8 they determined to go and visit Juarez and beg for a pardon.

At Querétaro the Emperor's adherents, led by the Prince and Princess Salm, still tried to bring about his escape. For this purpose it was first of all necessary to win over the officers who had now been entrusted with keeping guard over the Emperor, Colonels Villanueva and Palacio. They thought of bribing them, but it was impossible to procure enough ready money. The colonels actually entered into negotiations — whether only ostensibly it is hard to decide. Time pressed, for the first sitting of the court-martial was fixed for June 12. Maximilian offered bills for proportionately large amounts, since he had no ready money at his disposal. The two colonels demanded that the bills should be countersigned by the European ministers; so the Emperor asked Lago for his signature, and requested him to induce his colleagues to sign too. Lago represented to the Emperor that, in his opinion, the attempt at flight had no prospect of success, for the Mexicans were playing a double game, and only wanted to compromise him and the other ministers.

The Princess Salm was, however, heroically resolved to help the Emperor by every conceivable means. It was still necessary to win over Colonel Palacio. She asked him to escort her home in the evening; she took him to her bedroom, and attempted to induce him to take part in the plot by promising him a sum of 100,000 pesos. When the colonel hesitated, she is stated to have gone even further. "Isn't the sum enough?" she is said to have asked. "Well, Colonel, here am I!" and the lovely Princess began to undress.[40] Colonel Palacio, it seems, hurried in the utmost consternation to the door, which was shut, declaring that his honour was doubly at stake, and that if she did not open it at once, he would jump out of the window into the street. She pacified him and reminded him

[40] From an account by Count Khevenhüller, who repeats it, however, as a matter of hearsay. V. N. A. See the Princess Salm's own account, op. cit., III. 174, which would lead us to assume that the truth of the above account is almost sure.

that he had given her his word of honour at the beginning of the interview that he would not reveal a word about it, upon which the colonel left her, without giving a definite answer to her proposal that he should help the Emperor to escape.

Meanwhile Baron Lago had negotiated the business of signing the bills with his Italian colleague Curtopassi and the Belgian Hooricks, who had also hurried to the spot. It is significant that the two Mexican colonels demanded that the ministers should accompany their signatures with their official titles. The ministers, suspecting a trap, refused their signatures, for fear of compromising themselves and their Governments, and even advised Baron Lago, who had already signed his name, to cross it out. As Lago wavered, one of his colleagues took the scissors and cut off his signature. Maximilian, who had seriously hoped for escape this time, was bitterly disappointed. He saw that the ministers could do nothing, and felt that he was being deserted at the decisive hour.

Indeed, Colonel Palacio had gone straight to General Escobedo on the night of the 14th, and informed him of all that had passed. The result was that the ministers and Princess Salm were ordered to leave Querétaro on the spot. Baron Magnus had previously left for San Luis Potosí, to intercede for Maximilian with Juarez. Lago was unable even to submit the codicil to Maximilian's will to him for signature, and took it away with him unsigned.

In a note to the United States Minister, Juarez had mentioned the reasons why he could not treat the Emperor as a prisoner of war, and emphasized the point that the instigators of the civil war, which had been fruitlessly prolonged after the departure of the French, must be punished for it.

The first session of the court-martial was appointed for the 12th. It took place in the principal theatre. The stage was set apart for the members of the court and the accused, the stalls and boxes were to be filled by the audience and the public. The last scene of the imperial drama was literally to be played out in the theatre. This was too much for Maximilian. He declared that on no account would he appear on the stage. He would only be taken there by force, and would resist up to his last

breath. Moreover, the Emperor drew attention to the serious state of his health, and at last they refrained from dragging him on to the stage.

But Miramón and Mejía were bound to obey orders. The composition of the court-martial already showed what verdict they had to expect. A lieutenant was to preside over the court and six young captains were to decide the fate of an ex-emperor, a former president of the Republic, and a distinguished general.

The proceedings of the court-martial were carried out *in absentia* after the two generals had been sentenced. The written account of the examination to which the Emperor had already been subjected on May 24 served as their basis of the proceedings. Maximilian had refused to answer most of the questions, on the ground that they dealt with political matters which were not within the competence of a court-martial; he had also maintained that a court-martial had no right to try him. Thirteen grounds of accusation were enumerated, the most important of which alleged that he had been the chief instrument of French intervention; that in so doing he had infringed the peace, freedom, and independence of Mexico; that he had usurped the sovereignty, and done violence to the lives, laws, and interests of the Mexicans. Through the barbarous decree of October 3, 1865 he had caused the death of innumerable Mexicans.[41] Finally, the Emperor was held responsible for prolonging the civil war after the departure of the French, thereby entailing untold misery to the country.

After the events of the past years it was naturally easy to bring such a mass of accusations against a defeated man. The condemnation of Maximilian had now become a political act of the highest importance, in comparison with which his person was of no weight at all in Juarez's eyes. The President dreaded the condemnation of his fellow-countrymen if he were to show mercy. If the Emperor were pardoned, he might even return and attempt to regain his lost crown, as Iturbide had once done. The Emperor's changing moods and incorrigible

[41] See the text of all the heads of accusation in Schmit von Tavera, op. cit., II. 397, et seq.

romanticism were only too well known to the enemy camp. They knew that the defeat he had sustained would rankle in the Emperor's heart during his whole life. They knew how obstinately he had refused to leave the country, and believed that, in view of his character, they must be provided against all contingencies. All promises which he might make he could subsequently state to have been extorted under pressure.

Moreover, the condemnation of the monarch gave the proud Indian a unique opportunity of administering a slap in the face to all the monarchs of Europe. Besides, by refusing the request of the United States that Maximilian should be acquitted, he could show them that he was determined to allow no interference from them either. And so, quite apart from the farce of the court-martial, Maximilian's death was irrevocably decided. Baron Magnus, who had hurried to Juarez, declared to him that the King of Prussia would pledge himself, in concert with the other States of Europe, to guarantee the independence and liberty of Mexico in the event of the President's releasing Maximilian. The United States would also associate themselves with this guarantee. But even this offer met with no response. It only gave Juarez another opportunity of advertising his power to the minister. Nor did it make the least impression upon him when Garibaldi, in his manifesto to the Mexican nation of July 5, 1867,[42] in which he congratulated them upon the brilliant conclusion of their struggle for liberty, begged that Maximilian might be spared.

A number of other suppliants had also gathered together at San Luis Potosí. The indefatigable Princess Salm fell on her knees before Juarez, and begged weeping for the Emperor's life. But, though moved, the President replied:[43] "I am grieved, Madame, to see you on your knees before me; but if all the kings and queens in Europe were at your side, I could not spare his life. It is not I who take it away; it is my people and the law, and if I did not do their will, the people would take his life and my own as well."

This was intended for the public, and with its boastful

[42] Printed by Montlong, op. cit., p. 120.

[43] See Agnes Salm, op. cit., p. 196.

insistence upon the impotence of the monarchs of Europe, it cast the blame for the noble blood that was to be shed upon a community, a collective, impersonal, impalpable entity — the People.

A deputation of two hundred women from San Luis met with just as little success. Even the heart-rending tears of Señora Miramón, who came with her little children to beg for her husband's life, could not touch Juarez. The pitiless heart of the descendant of the Aztecs remained unmoved; no salvation could any longer be hoped for from him.

Nor did Maximilian cherish any further illusions, though the instinct for self-preservation still kept a last spark of hope alive in his heart. But if this too became extinct, at least the world should see that a Habsburg could die nobly and bravely. The Emperor's sense of honour rose to its highest consummation during his last days, and his character attained to a grandeur worthy of the antique world. Even now, when he could almost watch the executioner's preparations from his cell, he still thought first of others, of those who had fought for his sake, who had stood by his side and now suffered because of him. "Will you make every effort," he wrote to Baron Lago,[44] "to save the Austrian officers and soldiers who are still in Mexico, and get them back to Europe?"

He had hardly written this when he received the false report that his wife had died at Miramar. With a trembling hand he added the following postscript to his letter to Lago of June 15: "I have just heard that my poor wife is released from her sufferings. This news, however much it may shatter my heart, is on the other hand an unspeakable consolation to me at the present moment. I have now only one wish on earth, that my body may be laid beside my poor wife, with which mission, dear baron, I charge you as representative of Austria."

At the court-martial, three votes were cast in favour of death, three of banishment for life. The President had therefore to give the casting vote. The young lieutenant-colonel lightly assumed the responsibility, and decided in favour of the death penalty.

[44] The Emperor Maximilian to Baron Lago at Tacubaya, June 14, 1867. V. N. A.

And now the trial had gone against him, there was no more chance of flight, only a miracle could bring salvation. Baron Magnus had returned to Querétaro from San Luis Potosí — where Baron Lago had apparently given him "unlimited credit for bribing President Juarez and the minister Lerdo" — disconsolate and filled with the deepest pity for the Emperor, but without success.

Maximilian had borne the anguish of the last day with composure, in spite of the disease which was sapping his strength. He made arrangements for his body to be embalmed and transported to Europe, and begged that they would choose good shots for the execution, who should avoid shooting him in the head, but hit the mark well and surely. "For," observed Maximilian proudly,[45] "it is not seemly for an Emperor to writhe on the ground in his death agony."

Dr. Basch, his physician, was at the Emperor's side almost all that day and night. He looked on in sorrow as the "living dead man" made all preparations for his end, writing farewell letters,[46] and putting his last wishes on record. The few possessions still remaining to the Emperor he divided among

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[45] Ernst Schmit von Tavera: *Die mexikanische Kaisertragödie* (Vienna, 1903), p. 113.

[46] There were letters to the Empress Charlotte, the Pope, the Emperor Francis Joseph, the Archduchess Sophie, King Leopold II of the Belgians, the Archdukes Karl Ludwig and Ludwig Viktor, Prince Auersperg, Count Bombelles, Count Hadik, the Baroness Binzer, Baron Walter, besides Professor Bilimek, Captain Pierron, etc. The Emperor also wrote some letters in Spanish to a few Mexicans in Europe, among them Gutierrez, besides the Princess Iturbide and the ministers Ramirez and Escudero. Most of them were written by Dr. Basch at the Emperor's dictation and signed by the monarch. They all contained heartfelt expressions of gratitude for friendship or services rendered, and poignant words of farewell. The letter to Charlotte, according to the testimony of Antoine Chervier, a Mexican officer, to whom the Emperor apparently showed it himself, is said to have run "almost word for word" as follows: "My beloved Charlotte! If God grant that you recover your health and are able to read these lines, you will understand the cruelty of the fate which has been dealing me its blows without respite since your departure for Europe. So many events, alas! so many sudden blows, have broken the whole of my hopes! Death is to me a happy release. I shall fall proudly as a soldier, like a king defeated but not dishonoured. If your sufferings are too severe, and God calls you to come and join me soon, I shall bless the hand of God which has been heavy upon us. Adieu, Charlotte! Adieu. Your poor Maximilian."

his relations and friends. The execution of the sentence was fixed for July 16. At eleven o'clock in the morning appeared a general, escorted by a colonel and a detachment of soldiers, and read out the sentence of death to the Emperor, and then to Miramón and Mejía. The execution was to take place at three in the afternoon. The Emperor's last hours were taken up with finishing letters, making his last dispositions, and interviews with the priest and his two counsellors. The doomed men had confessed and taken the communion. The Emperor was perfectly calm. The tension of his nerves was betrayed only by his characteristic gesture of brushing his beard back from his face.

Then from the clock-tower sounded the hour of three. Nobody had yet come to fetch the doomed men, though they had heard movements and words of command outside. One quarter of an hour went by after another in a torture of suspense. At last, at four o'clock, Colonel Palacio appeared with a telegram from San Luis in his hand. A ray of hope lit up the Emperor's blanched features. This could only be his pardon.

But it was merely a postponement for three days, the only concession which Juarez could be induced to make. A shiver of disappointment ran through the Emperor's frame. The postponement was painful to him; if it had got to be, then let the inevitable happen quickly. But yet a faint hope still stirred within him. Perhaps the following days, or even hours, would bring good tidings. But while Maximilian allowed only a faint flicker of hope to light up his heart, Salm saw him already saved, and even Colonel Palacio and other Liberals took the postponement for the first step towards a pardon.

Still with the best intentions of helping the Emperor, Baron Magnus determined to appeal to Juarez by telegraph. He started by remarking that on June 16, when they believed themselves to be faced with immediate execution, the doomed men had already been led out to their death, morally speaking. He now begged that they should not be made to die a second death.[47] " I beseech you," he wrote, " in the name of humanity and of Heaven, to give orders that their life shall not again

[47] See Montlong, op. cit., p. 104, and elsewhere.



THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN RECEIVES
THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF HIS DEATH-SENTENCE

be threatened, and I repeat once again that I am certain that my sovereign, His Majesty the King of Prussia, and all the monarchs of Europe related to the imprisoned Prince by the tie of blood — namely, his brother, the Emperor of Austria; his cousin, the Queen of Great Britain; his brother-in-law, the King of the Belgians; and his cousin, the Queen of Spain; as well as the Kings of Italy and Sweden — will easily come to an agreement to give his Excellency Señor Benito Juarez all guarantees that none of the prisoners will ever return and enter Mexican territory."

This was very well meant, but it was ill-advised to draw Juarez's attention to the fact that a wave of his hand was enough to launch the " Cousin of Europe " from life into death in the teeth of all the monarchs of the Old World.

If the delay of three days had signified a final hesitation on the part of the President, during this time he hardened his heart. The telegram of the Prussian Minister could not shake his decision; it was far more likely to confirm him in the desire to give a lesson to the whole of Europe. Nor did Maximilian's magnanimity touch the President. For the Emperor had had a telegram sent to the Government at San Luis on June 18, in which he petitioned for a pardon for Generals Miramón and Mejía, and expressed the wish that he might be the only victim.

All these letters and telegrams met with a refusal from Juarez's minister Lerdo. The Emperor made ready for death, and all hope died away. The consciousness that he had steadfastly pursued the right, the consideration — which he had also developed in the memorandum for his defence — that in any case it could not be denied that he had been in good faith (*buena fé*),[48] bore him up in this dark hour, and gave him the strength to bear his fate like a hero. When the rumour of the Empress's death was contradicted, he addressed a letter of heart-felt thanks and leave-taking to the prefect of the palace of Miramar, in which he begged him to remain faithfully at his poor

[48] *Memorandum sobre el proceso del Arciduque Fernando Maximiliano de Austria* (Mexico, 1867). The copy used by the writer is a finely bound one with a cross on it, containing an autograph inscription by the Emperor's two counsellors, Señores Riva Palacio and R. Martinez de la Torre, which was presented to the Archduchess Sophie.

wife's side, and show her the same devotion as that which he had so splendidly displayed towards the Emperor.[49] Maximilian recommended to his family the widows of both those who shared his fate, and sent an appeal to Juarez that his blood might be the last that was to be shed; the President should let the spirit of conciliation prevail in future, so as to restore peace and quiet to the unhappy country.

General Escobedo's life had once been saved by Mejía, and he now remembered this, and promised to exert all his influence to save him from his fate. Mejía was his Emperor's equal in magnanimity. Though his young and adored wife had just borne him a child, he declared that he would accept a pardon only if the Emperor and Miramón were also saved. When Escobedo declared that it was beyond his power to obtain this, Mejía exclaimed: "Good, then let me be shot with His Majesty." [50]

On the eve of the execution, when the Emperor was already asleep, Escobedo appeared to bid him farewell. Maximilian was roused from his sleep, talked to the general for a few minutes, gave him his portrait, with an autograph inscription, and impressed upon him to devote himself to the well-being and prosperity of Mexico.

And so the morning of June 19, 1867 came round. The sun rose radiantly, there was not a cloud in the sky, and there was a fragrant, invigorating springlike freshness in the air.

The Emperor had slept a dreamless sleep till three o'clock in the morning; then he got up, and Father Soria read a low mass for him and his fellow prisoners. The few remaining adherents of the Emperor looked on with deep agitation as the three doomed men bent the knee at the sacred moment of the consecration of the Host, and received the blessing given them by the priest with deep emotion. The witnesses of this scene sobbed aloud, and it was the Emperor who tried to calm them by alluding to God's inscrutable decrees. He then drew his wedding-ring from his finger, and handed it to Dr. Basch, with

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[49] The Emperor Maximilian to Radonetz, no exact date, but about June 17, 1867; in possession of Herr von Eberan, Vienna.

[50] See Ollivier, op. cit., XI. 153.

a rosary and scapulary which he had been given by his confessor, Father Soria. Basch was to convey them to the Archduchess Sophie with her son's last farewells; the little medal of the Madonna which the Empress Eugénie had once given him, with the wish that it might bring him luck, he destined for the Empress of Brazil.

Up to the last moment the Emperor's thoughts were for all those near and dear to him. Then, stepping towards the cells of the two generals, he said: "Are you ready, gentlemen? I am already prepared." Maximilian embraced the two generals. "Soon," he said, "we shall meet again in the other world." Miramón was as quiet and composed as the Emperor, but Mejía was so weakened by disease and the thought of his young wife that he could hardly stand upright.

The Emperor descended the staircase, dressed in black civil costume, paused on the last step, and exclaimed: "What a glorious day! I have always wanted to die on just such a day."

They got into the carriages which drove the doomed men to the place of execution, the Cerro de la Campana. The carriage was escorted by a strong detachment of cavalry and infantry, and immediately after it marched the firing party. A deep silence reigned wherever the procession passed by. Doors and windows were closed as a sign of mourning, the few passers-by were dressed in black, or wore a grave expression. Women were seen to weep as they saw Mejía's young wife, with her baby at her breast, running wailing after the procession, and prevented only by the soldiers' bayonets from clinging to the carriage which bore her husband away.

All the Europeans stayed behind; only the Emperor's faithful manservant and cook, Tüdös, had followed the procession. He had always refused to believe that it would come to this. "Now do you believe that they are going to shoot me?" asked the Emperor, as he stepped from the carriage.

The Emperor walked the hundred paces up the hill holding his head high, with Miramón erect at his side; but Mejía, who was almost insensible, had to be dragged along and almost carried. The troops were drawn up at the top of the hill in three sides of a square, the fourth being formed by a low stone wall.

The prisoners were led up to it and placed with their faces towards the city of Querétaro, which lay before them peacefully in the sunlight.

A peremptory order was read out to the troops — of whom they were obviously not sure — to the effect that anyone who raised a hand to help the Emperor would be shot on the spot. The few spectators stood in silent expectation. The Emperor looked round, as if to see whether any of his friends were present. His place was pointed out to him in the middle, between the two generals.

Then he turned to Miramón. "General," he said, "a brave man must be honoured by his monarch even in the face of death; allow me to give you the place of honour." With these words he made Miramón step into the middle place. Then, turning to Mejía, he said: "General, what is not rewarded on earth will surely be in heaven."

The firing party chosen to execute the sentence stepped forward. The officer who was to give the order to fire turned to the Emperor, and, obviously in a painful state of emotion, stammered a few words, which sounded like an excuse. Maximilian thanked him for this display of pity: "You are a soldier; you must obey!" He then gave a gold *once* to each of the soldiers drawn up opposite him, with the request that they should take good aim. Returning to his place, he wiped the sweat from his brow, and gave his handkerchief and hat to his faithful Tüdös, for him to take home.

He then said distinctly, in Spanish, so that all those standing by could understand him:

"I forgive everybody, I pray that everyone may also forgive me, and I wish that my blood, which is now to be shed, may be for the good of the country. Long live Mexico, long live independence." [51]

[51] For Spanish text see Schmit von Tavera, op. cit., II. 487. There are various versions of his last words, but that we have given seems to be the correct one. The much longer text in Percy F. Martin: *Maximilian in Mexico* (London, 1914), p. 384, is taken from Felix Salm, op. cit., p. 283. But Salm was not present at the execution, whereas the words given above, which are more probable by their very brevity, are vouched for by the manservant Tüdös, who was on the spot, and also by Father Soria and the Liberal Captain Kreutz. According to the

Hardly had these words been spoken when the commanding officer lowered his sabre, seven shots rang out, and the Emperor Maximilian fell to the ground face downwards, softly whispering the word "*hombre,*" [52] and pierced by five bullets. A slight twitching betrayed that he was still alive. The officer who had given the order to fire hurried towards the fallen Emperor's body, turned it over with his weapon, and with the point of his sabre indicated his heart in silence. A soldier fired a shot at close range, which scorched the Emperor's clothes and killed him.

After Maximilian came Miramón's turn. He stood erect, and in a ringing voice disowned all imputations of treachery, crying: "Long live Mexico, long live the Emperor!" Mejía could manage only to repeat the same words in a faint voice, before his last moment also arrived.

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memoir of his counsel, sent to the Archduchess Sophie, his last words were: "I die in a just cause, that of the independence and freedom of Mexico. May my blood overcome for ever the misfortunes of my new fatherland. Long live Mexico!" But his counsel had not been present at his death, and so were not sure of his exact words.

According to the reports of a staff captain in the Mexican imperial army, Bertie Marriott (enclosed in a letter from the Archduchess Marie to the Archduchess Sophie, of August 14, 1867), the address which the captain said he heard from the priest accompanying Mejía was as follows:

"Mexicans! Men of my rank and origin — inspired with such sentiments as mine — are destined by Providence to be either benefactors of their people or martyrs. When I came among you, I had no hidden purpose. I came at the summons of right-thinking Mexicans, of those who are today sacrificing themselves for my country of adoption. On the threshold of the hereafter all I take with me is the consolation of having done good, so far as lay in my power, and of seeing myself not abandoned by my faithful and beloved generals. Mexicans! May my blood be the last which is shed, and may it be the regeneration of my country of adoption."

According to a report from Antoine Chevrier, an officer in the Mexican guard, to the Emperor Francis Joseph, dated December 4, 1894, which is in other respects demonstrably and grossly inaccurate, Maximilian's words were:

"Mexicans! Men of my class and race are created by God to be the happiness of nations, or their martyrs. Summoned by the wishes of a part of you, I have tried to regenerate the country, and all my efforts have been directed towards one end alone: your happiness. I have not succeeded; but in leaving this world, I pray God that my blood may be the last that is shed by my beloved country of adoption."

Both reports are in the State Archives, Vienna.

[52] A Spanish exclamation, signifying "man."

So fell the Emperor and his two faithful paladins. Friend and foe alike raised their hats to see this Habsburg die. He had never ceased to desire what was good and noble. His errors had been paid for with his life. But those who had brought him to this pass looked on at the tragic issue of the drama from a safe distance.

What had just taken place meant the scattering of all those who had been on the imperialist side. After Maximilian's death his partisans gave up the struggle. Marquez managed to reach safety. While in Mexico, even long after the Emperor had been captured, he still kept up the pretence that his cause was going well. But secretly he made all preparations for his own escape. A little later he turned up in Havana.

Juarez entered the capital in triumph. He did not shrink from going to look at Maximilian's embalmed body at Querétaro. The Indian's grim tenacity had triumphed over Maximilian's gentle spirit, fired with ambition and idealism. Success was on the President's side, but the sympathy, compassion, and admiration of every heart were on the side of his victim, who had faced death so nobly.

With the Emperor died all idea of founding a monarchy in Mexico. Only the old pretender Santa Anna had learnt nothing. Scarcely six months later he tried to reorganize the imperial cause which he had first supported and then abandoned. He now protested[53] how highly he prized the Emperor's memory and how great had been his interest in the Empress's fate. Father Fischer was to obtain arms, munitions, and money from Europe, and he, Santa Anna, would himself lead the rising against the Liberal party.

But nobody in Mexico took him seriously. Juarez remained President till his death, in 1872.

While Maximilian's destiny was being consummated in Mexico, far beyond the sea, Paris was living in a whirl of imperial state, celebrating splendid festivities, and intoxicating itself with the brilliant success of the Universal Exhibition, which Napoleon had announced for the year 1867, in order to some extent to wipe out the memory of his failures in foreign

[53] Santa Anna to Father Fischer, Havana, January 10, 1868. V. N. A.

politics by this great spectacle, far surpassing anything that had preceded it. Paris became the centre of Europe and of the world. Thousands upon thousands made the pilgrimage to the city on the Seine. Numbers of European princes, even the Tsar and the King of Prussia, visited Paris as the guests of Napoleon, in order that they might be impressed by this show of all the wonders of the world, and the brilliant festivities of the capital. It was already known that the Emperor Maximilian was a prisoner, but Mexico was a long way off, and the festivities were close at hand. Nobody believed in the gravity of his situation, and in Washington, too, the whole affair was somewhat negligently handled. As late as June 17 Seward said to Baron Wydenbruck at a dinner: "His life is quite as safe as yours and mine."

On June 11 the Tsar left Paris, and on the 14th King William of Prussia. The Emperor and Empress of the French had been tortured by premonitions of evil during these days. As early as June 12 Napoleon had let fall some remarks to Metternich which proved how depressed he was at being powerless to help Maximilian in any way. He and the Empress felt the responsibility which they had incurred before the world and before their own consciences. Napoleon had no idea what to do, and sent word to the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs that if he had any idea how assistance could be given, he could count on him without reserve.[54] But it was already too late; day after day went by, and Maximilian's fate was sealed.

On June 30 Napoleon and the Empress were going in state to present the prizes awarded to the exhibitors, in the presence of the royal personages staying in Paris, among whom were the Count and Countess of Flanders. On the evening before, a telegram arrived in Vienna from the Austrian Minister in Washington saying that the Emperor Maximilian had been shot. The news was already in a Belgian newspaper on the morning of the following day. The Empress Eugénie was just dressing for the prize-giving when the news was brought her. White with terror and nearly fainting, she hurried into her husband's study. Should they put off the prize-giving, or feign

[54] Metternich to Beust, Paris, June 12, 1867. V. N. A.

ignorance in spite of their sorrow? It was always possible that the news was false. They decided to let the celebration take place. While the Empress handed the gold and silver medals to the prize-winners with a gracious smile, her thoughts were with the dead man for whose fate she felt that she was in part responsible. It was only by an effort that she completed her task. She had hardly returned to the Tuileries when her strength failed her. She had to be carried fainting to bed.

On the following day the terrible truth could no longer be hidden. It had already attracted attention that the places allotted to the Count and Countess of Flanders at the prize-giving had remained empty, and now confirmation of the terrible news arrived from all sides. Amid the whirl of festivities Paris was suddenly plunged into mourning. It was now clear, even to the most unthinking, whither the Mexican adventure had led. Thousands of French soldiers had lost their lives, millions of francs had been spent, only to bring Napoleon's protégé to his death. Moreover, it suddenly became clear that all those confiding persons who had invested their money in Mexican loans would now have to lament its loss. These had been mainly Parisians, and it was significant that none of the Mexican exiles had had a share in them! In a moment the gaiety was quenched, all entertainments were cancelled, and the foreign celebrities left the city. Bitter criticism upon Napoleon was heard. It was said on all sides that Maximilian would be to Louis Napoleon what the Duke of Enghien had been to Napoleon the First. Napoleon's old enemy Thiers mentioned the death of Maximilian in an interview [55] with deep emotion; he called Louis Napoleon the sole and true originator of the crime, upon whom alone the responsibility would recoil. "He will never recover from this curse," exclaimed Thiers, "this outrage will overwhelm him with the contempt of France." Thiers overshot the mark in his hatred, but he knew how to use the incident for his own ends. He could now point out in the Senate how right he had always been in warning people against the Mexican enterprise, and in still opposing

[55] Account by Klindworth, confidential agent, appended to Metternich's dispatch of July 6, 1867. V. N. A.

it when France's honour and flag were already deeply involved in the undertaking. It was now easy for him to show from this example how badly France needed the control of a parliament.

In England, where such a prudent reserve had been maintained from the outset in the Mexican business, the *mot* went round that the Archduke had been Napoleon's "archdupe." Anxiety was even felt by the Parisians for the life of the French Minister and all their fellow-countrymen left in Mexico. And, painfully as France was already feeling her political isolation, they had now also to reckon with the alienation of the Austrian Emperor.

Early in June Metternich had been carrying on negotiations with a view to a visit of the Austrian Emperor and Empress to Paris, which was to have taken place in the middle of July, but this was now impossible, owing to this tragic event. Beust, who was watching Bismarck's successful policy in South Germany with growing anxiety, and attached great importance to an alliance with France in Eastern affairs, Metternich, whose efforts had been directed for years towards a close co-operation with France, and finally Napoleon, who was forced to seek support, in view of the threatening increase of the power of Prussia, all equally regretted that Francis Joseph's visit had to be put off.

On receiving the confirmation of the news of Maximilian's execution, Napoleon telegraphed to the Emperor Francis Joseph as follows:[56]

"The appalling news which we have just received has plunged us into the deepest grief. I at once deplore and admire the energy displayed by the Emperor in insisting upon fighting single-handed against a party which has only triumphed by treachery, and I am inconsolable at having, with the best intentions, contributed towards such a lamentable result. Will Your Majesty accept the expression of my sincerest and deepest regret.

"Napoleon"

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[56] Napoleon III to the Emperor Francis Joseph, July 3, 1867, 4.30 p.m. V. N. A.

Napoleon and Eugénie did indeed feel the deepest grief and grave remorse. Metternich, who himself reported with great emotion the "thunderbolt" which fell upon the gay festivities, found the Emperor and Empress on one occasion in tears. But the effect was a lasting one, too, in other circles in the French capital. "It can hardly be imagined," wrote Prince Metternich,[57] "what a deep impression the news from Mexico has produced here."

In Austria the consternation was immense, not only at court, where the Archduchess Sophie in particular was almost prostrated by her grief at the murder of her son, but also among the people, by whom Maximilian had always been beloved. All those who had once uttered warnings against the adventure now recalled their words, and even those who had once cheered the new Emperor now wanted to make out that they had foreseen all that had happened.

The Emperor Francis Joseph signed and dispatched to Paris an answer to Napoleon's telegram, drawn up by Beust in the most amiable terms. Napoleon had awaited the reply to his telegram with some anxiety. He was profoundly relieved, and grateful to the Emperor Francis Joseph for having eased his painful situation by a friendly reply. In his answer he once more expressed his own and the Empress's deep sorrow, adding that he would never have believed that the Mexican republicans would have behaved with such barbarity and inhumanity.[58] He also regretted, he said, that the visit to Paris, which could only have drawn closer the bonds between the two empires, had had to be postponed. "For today," he wrote, "I joyfully repeat to Your Majesty, there is nothing to divide us, and everything must draw us nearer to each other."

These statements of Napoleon's met with a warm reception in Vienna, for there, too, it was not desired that relations with France should be troubled. The hint now conveyed that Napoleon and Eugénie had the intention of paying a visit to the

[57] Prince Metternich to Beust, July 4, 1867. V. N. A.

[58] The Emperor Napoleon III to the Emperor Francis Joseph, July 11, 1867. V. N. A.



ARRIVAL OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN'S BODY AT TRIESTE

Austrian Emperor and Empress gave satisfaction in Vienna. Family piety must yield to the reason of state. It was only Maximilian's mother, the Archduchess Sophie, who could not recover from her sorrow, and declared that she did not feel able to meet the Emperor and Empress of the French for the present.

The Empress Eugénie displayed more understanding than her consort. In discussing with Metternich whether the visit should take place, she expressed herself as opposed to it, saying: " It will be the most painful thing in the world to me to find myself face to face with a brother and a mother to whose grief I have contributed by my insistence upon the expedition to Mexico. If I had already known the Emperor, the Empress, and the Archduchess Sophie, I should long ago have hastened to them (*je me serais précipitée sur leurs mains*) in order to give proof of my sentiments, of which they ought to be in no doubt. But since I do not know them, I am afraid of appearing either too cold or too tragic." [59]

Metternich was convinced that these words came from the Empress's heart, but he also thought she was afraid that she might possibly be exposed to hostile demonstrations in Vienna. It was therefore decided in the end that the interview should take place at Salzburg, where the Emperor Francis Joseph and the Empress Elizabeth were to go to meet the Emperor and Empress of the French. The Archduchess Sophie refused to join them. In Napoleon she saw the man who had driven her son to his death, and had not even brought himself to offer him a helping hand.

And so on August 18, 1867, on a bright, sunny day, like the one upon which Maximilian had made his last journey, the Emperor and Empress of the French made their appearance in the picturesque city of Salzburg. Eugénie was most modestly attired, as Beust relates, and endeavoured to " efface herself " before the radiant beauty of the Empress Elizabeth. Napoleon was fresh and gay, once more recovered from his illness. At first conversation turned upon Maximilian and the sorrow for him. But soon political questions threw painful memories

[59] Private letter of Metternich to Beust, Paris, July 11, 1867. V. N. A.

into the background, and they spoke of Germany, the East, Crete, and a thousand other things.

The Emperor Francis Joseph had sent Admiral Tegetthoff to Mexico to bring home Maximilian's body. While Juarez was trying to use the occasion of delivering it to them to wring from the Emperor of Austria his recognition of the new regime, ambitious plans were still floating before Charlotte's troubled brain. The delusion that there was a plot to poison her had disappeared, and now at Miramar she dreamed of her husband as "Lord of the Earth" and "Sovereign of the Universe." [60]

Meanwhile the very ship in which he had once sailed away full of hope was bearing his coffin, covered with the red, white, and red war-ensign, back to his home.

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[60] Report of Barandiaran to the Emperor Maximilian, January 13, 1867. V. N. A. This delusion possessed her for almost the whole of 1867. The Empress had later many lucid intervals, during which she seems to have learnt of Maximilian's death and fully grasped it. She also wrote letters to Hidalgo and others, though it is of course not known how far these were composed by the Empress herself. The Empress died at the castle of Bouchout in Belgium on January 16, 1927, at the age of eighty-six, without recovering her reason.

APPENDIX

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN AND THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III.
TELEGRAM. ROME, APRIL 20, 1864

Their Majesties the Emperor and Empress offer His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon their most cordial wishes on the occasion of the anniversary of his birth, which will be the date of their departure for the New World.

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON TO THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. SIGNATURES ONLY IN THE HANDWRITING OF NAPOLEON AND DROUYN DE LHUYS RESPECTIVELY.
ACT OF STATE. APRIL 29, 1864

Sir my brother,

Your minister has handed me the letter written me by Your Majesty to inform me that on the 10th of this month you solemnly accepted the crown offered you by the Mexican nation. The sincere desire which I feel to see order restored in the country henceforward placed under your watchful care, the heart-felt friendship which I pledged to you as soon as I had the opportunity to appreciate your high qualities, all vouch for the sympathy which I feel for the new empire, and the lively satisfaction caused me by the accession of Your Majesty to the throne of that beautiful country, the pearl of the New World. It is my most heart-felt desire that your reign should be long and prosperous; and it is very pleasant to think that Your Majesty will always be of a like mind with myself in the development

of relations of good friendship between our crowns and peoples. I shall always have as much pleasure in expressing these sentiments to you as I have in renewing the assurances of high esteem and inviolable friendship with which I am,

Sir my brother,

Your Imperial Majesty's good brother,

Napoleon.

Drouyn de Lhuys.

Palace of the Tuileries, April 29, 1864

Address: "*Monsieur mon Frère l'Empereur du Mexique.*"

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III TO THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. ORIGINAL. APRIL 29, 1864

Sir my brother,

I hope that my letter will reach you the moment Your Majesty sets foot on the soil of your new realm for the first time; accept, then, my sincere congratulations. I received with Your Majesty's letter a superb case of pistols which gave me great pleasure, and which I shall carefully preserve as a token of your friendship.

The news which I received from Mexico yesterday is good, and I never cease to congratulate myself more and more upon the resolution and intelligence of General Bazaine; I therefore strongly recommend him to Your Majesty in your own interests. The upshot of all the reports is that, wherever our agents do not exercise an active supervision, waste is prevalent and apathy is rife. It is therefore most essential that Your Majesty should not allow yourself to be influenced by the Mexicans, who are no doubt bound to be jealous of foreigners. The Loan has been very hard to raise; however, the part which especially concerns Your Majesty is subscribed; but the difficulties with which we have met should prompt you to make every effort to introduce the greatest order and the utmost possible economy in the finances of Mexico, for there was a moment when we were faced with the failure of the loan.

I ask Your Majesty's pardon for telling you my opinion frankly, but my interests are so bound up with yours that it is natural that I should acquaint you with all my anxieties.

I hope that the Empress has not suffered from the voyage; we beg to be remembered to her, and I repeat my assurances of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's good brother,

Napoleon.

Paris, April 29, 1864

See page 423

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III TO THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. ORIGINAL. MAY 15, 1864

Sir my brother,

I hope Your Majesty has arrived in Mexico in good health and that my letter will find you in Mexico City. I have nothing of great importance to tell you, but I send you a letter from General Santa Anna protesting against his expulsion.

My reply to him was that this question was now one for Your Majesty to decide.

The clergy in Mexico still seem to me to be inspired with uncompromising and not very conciliatory ideas; they will give Your Majesty a great deal of trouble.

I beg you to accept the assurance of my high esteem and sincere friendship.

Napoleon.

Paris, May 15, 1864

On the back:
I am sending General Almonte the grand cordon of the Legion of Honour. I beg Your Majesty to inform him of this.

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE. UNDATED, 1864

Madam and very dear sister,

Your Majesty will already have arrived in your new fatherland when this letter is handed to you by Monsieur de Montessny, whose Father Your Majesty saw in Brussels where he was for long our minister, my first thought is therefore to offer Your Majesties my wishes

and congratulations on your arrival; we await the news of it with much impatience.

Your Majesty will already have received news through Count Zichy of all the vicissitudes of the loan in England, in spite of the advantages offered the Bondholders, only an insignificant proportion of it has been subscribed, the news we have received and the protest of the Chamber in the United States against the Empire have also had a great influence on the money-market, but the upshot of it all is that only three millions are left unsubscribed, and I do not doubt that the news of Your Majesties' arrival will tend to raise the value of the bonds, so that it will be easy to dispose of this amount.

They seem very warlike in England at present; but we hope that they will end by coming to an understanding, and that Peace will ensue. Diplomacy has so few secrets nowadays, that the newspapers will tell Your Majesties more about it than I am able to do.

It seems that Garibaldi's reception in London was beyond description. I hear from London that Lady Mary Jon knelt to him; as for the Duchess of Sutherland, she especially distinguished herself by her extravagant behaviour, he was escorted to his bedroom every night, as if he had been a sovereign. On saying good-bye to him Lord Shaftesbury turned up his eyes tearfully and exclaimed: "We shall not see *his like* again until Our Saviour comes again," it was Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar who told the story to Marie of Baden, who repeated it to me in a letter. I believe the Queen is displeased with all these absurdities; the Prince of Wales also went and called upon Garibaldi, but it appears that he was prompted by an impulse of curiosity which he thought should have been kept secret, and I believe he was very vexed when he saw it was in the papers.

We had the pleasure of seeing the Duke of Brabant as he passed through Paris, he looked very well — the Duke's visit to the South had done him good as always, he told us that he intended to go to see Your Majesties this winter. The distance does not daunt him in the least, which I can quite understand, for I too should greatly enjoy going. The Emperor desires me to present his homage to you. I hope Your Majesty will be so good as to remember me to the Emperor Maximilian, and be assured of the feelings with which I am

Your most devoted sister,

Eugénie.

I thank the Emperor for his photograph.

See page 421

THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE TO THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE

Mexico, June 18, 1864

Madam and very dear sister,

M. de Montessny handed me your kind letter yesterday just as I was about to write to Your Majesty and tell you about our fortunate arrival in this country. You can imagine with what interest I questioned the young envoy about Your Majesty; it was a pleasure to me to talk about you with somebody who had seen you. As for thinking about Your Majesties we have done nothing else for the last fortnight, admirably seconded by the Mexicans, who feel a legitimate gratitude to you, which we attempt still further to inculcate. If ever a country was miraculously saved from a condition out of which it would never have emerged, it is indeed this one; it knows this and understands it, and gives proof of it by its ever-increasing joy and the affectionate welcome which it has given us. This is due to the freedom of expressing its opinions restored to it by France, for really since obtaining this it seems to have entirely changed. We were told that the country was cold and apathetic; I find on the contrary that it displays great warm-heartedness, confidence, and, above all, satisfaction at being delivered from its thousand despots, of which it could never have rid itself by its own efforts without the generous help of France.

Your Majesties' tricolour and ours are flying together everywhere, sometimes side by side with that of my own country, which also owed the cradle of its independence and prosperity to the French alliance. Among the poems thrown to us at Puebla we picked up two actually in our carriage, which I am venturing to send you. If I were to add all those we have received here about Your Majesties, the number of them would be astonishing.

On a triumphal arch near Lake Chalco we read: "Eternal gratitude to Napoleon the Third." On our arrival at Guadalupe there were great shouts of "Long live Maximilian the First," "Long live Napoleon the Third," and the crowd raised their great sombreros and answered: "May he live long (*Que viva*)." The sight of the Virgin of Guadalupe touched me greatly, it was, as it were, a great act of historic reparation that homage should be rendered to the protectress of the Indians by a descendant of Charles the Fifth on the point of

ascending the throne of Montezuma. Besides, the reception we received that day was such as I have never seen before; an overflowing sentiment of relief, a regular delirium had taken possession of some thousand gentlemen of Mexico and all the ladies. On the following day a most affectionate demonstration took place in the great plaza, which was thronged with people; it was in the evening; we had been on the balcony for a few moments when shouts were heard of "Let our Emperor come out" — we returned and then there was such applause that one heard nothing but a confused and inarticulate noise.

The French army has received us everywhere in the most friendly fashion and shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur*" sometimes interrupt those of "*Viva el Emperador,*" in accents of equal sincerity. For the French army is, in fact, witnessing the commencement of the success of its work, which of all its glorious exploits is certainly one of the finest which it has ever been called to accomplish. What are so gratifying to us are the tributes paid, not only to its efforts, but to the great conception which inspired the enterprise.

The blood shed at Puebla will not have been shed in vain, for it will cause a nation to spring up where none was in existence, and raise another empire with another eagle as its symbol on the opposite shore of the Atlantic. The alliance between these two empires may become one of the great facts of history.

According to all I have seen, a monarchy is feasible in this country and responds to the unanimous needs of the people; none the less, however, it remains a gigantic experiment, for we have to struggle against the wilderness, distance, the roads, and the most utter chaos. The level of civilization in this country presents astonishing contrasts. In Mexico City it is very much as in Europe. Half an hour away one is upset into a gorge or attacked by robbers. This did not happen to us, thanks to the skill of the French generals, but we passed through many most suspicious-looking spots, where several thousand partisans lay concealed. I confess that on the first day of our journey from Tejeria to Córdoba, things looked very queer and I should not have been surprised if Juarez himself had appeared with some hundreds of guerrillas. The road leading across uncultivated plains to Chiquihuite is abominable. The only civilized spots are the French guard-houses, with their canteens beside them. When we reached the Chiquihuite, at seven o'clock at night, in the heart of a dense forest, a wheel broke and it was not till two in the morning that we entered Córdoba in a *diligencia de la república* (republican stagecoach).

That day's journey has left a strange impression upon my mind; the Mexicans kept apologizing for the road — we had passed through half a dozen gullies (*barrancas*), with rocks several yards long — and we kept assuring them that we did not mind in the least, but as a matter of fact it was beyond all words and we needed all our youth and good humour to get off without cramp or a broken rib. However, the roads are the only thing which I have found worse than I expected. Between La Canada and Palmar one of the coaches following us completely upset with six gentlemen in it, among them M. Velasquez de León, who had to get out of the window, and that merely because it had been raining for less than a quarter of an hour.

Your Majesty will see that travelling in this country is no light matter, yet we were not even tired. M. de Montessny has just told me that the coach has again been held up between Mexico and Vera Cruz and that three [million?] piastres have been stolen. It had been held up the day before we reached Córdoba, though Almonte entirely refuses to admit it. Orizaba is as pretty a place as one might see, reminding one of Italy and the southern Tyrol; the air is delicious and extremely light. The town lies at the foot of the Cerro de Borrego. We crossed the *cumbres* (summit) on horseback. The authorities of Puebla and General Brincourt were waiting for us at Puente Colorado. I cannot praise the latter too highly to Your Majesties; of all the capable officers here, he is, I consider, one of the most remarkable for courage and energy and also for tact, for he understands and humours the Mexican character better than anybody. I believe he is destined to render distinguished services in this country. The Emperor gave him and General Maussion the Grand Cross of the Order of Guadalupe on the occasion of a promotion made when we passed through Puebla.

From Puebla we went to Cholula and heard mass on the *teocalli* in the chapel of the *Virgen de los Remedios*. There is something very moving about this little chapel on the platform where human sacrifices used to take place. The surrounding plain reminds one very much of Lombardy, and so does the country round Mexico City, which is enchanting. The officers who took part in the Italian campaign agree that there is a resemblance. It is a great pleasure to us, for we feel as if we were in Europe. The promenade (*paseo*) in Mexico City with a little goodwill reminds one of the Champs Elysées, there are a number of carriages in the evening, but all closed, from that of the commander-in-chief downwards. The mornings are as delightful as can be, and so are the evenings.

During our journey here from Vera Cruz we were able to convince ourselves more and more that the whole population of this land is Indian, for outside the towns one does not find a single white person. It is like the wave of an enchanter's wand. No sooner does one arrive in a place of importance than one finds prefects with embroidered uniforms and tricolour sashes, almost as in France, except that the embroideries are in gold. This forms quite a strange contrast with the rest of the country; as in the case of the railways, civilization has begun from several ends, but the intermediate stages and the connexions are lacking. Nearly all the Indians can read and write, the people are in the highest degree intelligent, and if the clergy instructed them as they ought, they would be an enlightened race. We have seen very advanced schools in which the children knew things which they certainly do not know in Austria, others in which they were questioned as to whether God had hands or ears, or as to what was the difference between the real Holy Virgin and the one in the church, and that at Puebla, the clerical city *par excellence*. The priests do not even teach the catechism in the schools. Nevertheless there are elements of patriotism and even of intellectual progress among the clergy — that is to say, of course, the lower clergy. As soon as they are confined to their own sphere and have begun to occupy themselves with their ministry, they may perhaps in time become quite good. Everything in this country has got to be begun all over again; one finds nothing but nature, whether in the physical or the moral order. Their education has to be undertaken down to the smallest details; fortunately there is great docility, that docility which has enabled them to support the most crushing dominations, every exaction, and every crime. Quiet people preferred concealment to resistance. The man who has all the misfortunes and aberrations of Mexico on his conscience is General Santa Anna. It was he who set up the republic as a means of reigning with impunity, who has lost the country half its territory, who has caused all its revolutions, and corrupted everyone who was corruptible, and especially every sentiment of morality. The ephemeral Governments which have succeeded one another for the last forty years have never been more than minorities supplanted by other minorities, for they have never had any root in the Indian population, the only one which works and enables the State to live. And so it was hailed as significant of a new era that the Emperor travelled through the provinces simply and not in uniform, for the people are weary of all these gorgeous generals who know nothing save how to ride and make war on one another.

In this respect Juarez's system was already a noticeable improvement, but it tended to introduce civilization by way of the United States, which was a great anomaly. France came just in time to check this tendency and substitute one in her own direction, which I believe to be the only means of civilizing the country, for civilization has to be imported.

June 22

I add another few lines, for the post has not yet left. The ball on Sunday was very fine and everybody very friendly. The quadrille was composed of the Emperor and the daughter of the municipal prefect, General Bazaine and myself, and two couples, the Montholons and the Almontes. Almonte is most delighted with the Legion of Honour, which he wears with visible pride. It is pleasant that he is at last receiving some satisfaction as a reward for all his trouble and difficulties, he is a very worthy and excellent man, and nobody in this country would have displayed so much devotion and abnegation. Hidalgo's mother, who must once have been very beautiful, dined with us the other day and we talked a great deal about her son. She is a clever woman, I like her very much.

Adieu, Madam and good sister. Things will go on well here if Your Majesties support us, because they are bound to go on and we want them to go on, but it is a prodigious labour, for when a country has amused itself for forty years of its existence with undoing all that it had achieved with regard to its resources and government, one cannot put it right in a day. However, this does not alarm us, I merely record it as a fact. We have devoted ourselves to this work in full knowledge of what we are doing; for my part, I have been surprised at nothing but the roads. All the rest I have found better rather than worse. What are needed most are railways and immigration. The plateaux surrounding Mexico City are magnificent, and if this were better known, there would not be so many poor in the great countries of Europe. The wealth of the mines is prodigious, but roads are lacking to transport it all. In Mexico, with the most productive deposits close at hand, it is hard to get any iron. Charcoal is burnt in the cotton-mills, because they do not know how to bring to the spot the coal which is also to be found in the country.

We are enchanted with Chapultepec, where we are already living; the view is perhaps one of the finest in the world, I think it surpasses Naples. The air here is excellent and suits us well. All this offers us ample compensations for the patience which we shall have to exercise

in other respects. If Your Majesty were to see this country, I am sure you would love it, but you have probably no idea of the condition it is in. And when one thinks that the presence of the French army has restored security and greatly improved it, one can imagine what it was before.

It is perhaps regrettable that for a year past the Government has not been entirely in the hands of the French authorities, whose influence would have been more direct, for the Mexicans, in spite of all my affection for them, do not know how to govern themselves, and perhaps some time might have been gained. Now parties are in abeyance, everybody is looking for redemption; but I do not know whether they will do anything to help, for people here rather like things to be carried on by a miracle. It was so at the time when they proclaimed their independence, everybody was certain that it would be the goose with the golden eggs and that they had nothing left to do but to fold their hands. History has proved them to be wrong.

See page 424

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. COPY. JUNE 18, 1864

Sir my brother,

In thanking Your Majesty for your two kind letters, of April 29 and May 15, I have the pleasure to inform you that, thanks to the excellent measures taken by General Bazaine, we have arrived in Mexico City without the least inconvenience.

The impression which we received all along the road will never be effaced from our memory. This long and tiring journey enabled us to appreciate the beauty and riches of the country and to notice the appalling state of the means of communication. All along the route I was charmed to note the good results produced by French intervention, not only from the military, but also from the administrative point of view. In order to complete the great work so well begun by Your Majesty, I shall have to rely upon a redoubling of the activity and energy so far exclusively directed by the general-in-chief, whose services I have pleasure in recognizing.

The difficulties which remain to be surmounted are great and I agree with Your Majesty that those likely to be caused by a clergy with uncompromising and not very conciliatory ideas will not be the

least among them. But with prudence, resolution, and Your Majesty's support I have faith in the future.

I beg you to remember me to the Empress, and repeat my assurances of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am Your Majesty's good brother,

SIGNED: *Maximilian.*

Mexico, June 18, 1864

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. COPY. JULY 26, 1864

Sir my brother,

Since our arrival in Mexico, I have every reason to be satisfied with the general state of the country. Every day fresh adhesions to the Empire are coming in from the interior; detachment after detachment of Franco-Mexican troops are moving forward and are everywhere meeting with marks of sympathy from the people, or successes of more or less importance over the irreconcilable element.

I have moreover the pleasure to announce to Your Majesty that, having got directly into touch with Uraga, I succeeded in a very short time in winning him over, with a certain number of his officers and soldiers. I am daily expecting a visit from this general, and I do not doubt that this example set by one of the best officers in the Juarista army will soon be followed, if not by the submission of this chief, whose obstinacy is his chief merit, at any rate by the break-up of the small force which, they say, he only keeps together with great difficulty.

So everything is advancing towards a general pacification; the land army is doing its duty well; why is it that the naval squadron has so far played such a negligible part? It is with great regret that I see the ports of Manzanillo, Mazatlán, Guaymas, etc., abandoned to the Dissidents, with the result that the large receipts of their customs-houses, which we so badly need, are entirely lost to us.

The organization of the great public services is the object of my unremitting attention.

The disorder everywhere is so great that everything remains to be done — commissions have already been appointed and are at work, charged with drawing up projects relating to the army, finance, judicial organization, etc. — but I am bound to recognize that capable

men are almost impossible to find among the Mexicans. I therefore look to the French element in particular for intelligent and practical schemes which will enable me to turn my hand to the work of general reorganization, indispensable for the development of the wealth of this beautiful country. In this connexion I find in M. Corta an intelligent and devoted co-operation, to which I have pleasure in bearing witness.

The Liberal party seems quite disposed to support me; as for the attitude of the clergy and their adherents, while warmly protesting their boundless loyalty, this influential party is secretly getting ready its weapons to try to combat or obstruct my ideas of progress. Since the nuncio has still not arrived, I shall soon find myself forced to start without the co-operation of the Roman Curia examining into the grave questions arising out of the property of the clergy. Come what may, my confidence never flags and I am working unremittingly at the accomplishment of the work due to Your Majesty's generous inspiration and glorious initiative.

The Empress and I have heard with great pleasure that the accident at Fontainebleau had no harmful results for the health which is so necessary to the peace of the whole world and so dear to those who, having been able to make Your Majesty's acquaintance, have pledged him their sincere affection.

We ask to be remembered to the Empress, and I repeat my assurances of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am Your Majesty's good brother,

Maximilian.

Mexico, July 26, 1864

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III TO THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. ORIGINAL; SIGNATURE ONLY IN AUTOGRAPH. JULY 28, 1864

Sir my brother,

My beloved cousin the Princess Marie Clotilde Napoleon gave birth on the 16th of this month to a prince, to whom I have given the names of Napoleon Louis Joseph Jérôme. Your Majesty is so ready to prove, on every occasion, how much you are interested in anything concerning the advantage of my crown, that I may expect to see you equally touched by my joy in an event of such interest to my family.

For my part, I shall always be most happy to give you fresh proofs of the high esteem and inviolable friendship with which I am, my brother,

Your Imperial Majesty's good brother,

Napoleon.

Vichy, July 28, 1864

See page 437

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE. JULY 30, 1864

Madam and good sister,

The departure of the post only leaves me time to thank Your Majesty for all the most interesting details which you are so good as to give; I hope to do so at greater length by the next packet.

We are most happy at the news which we receive from Mexico, and though we had anticipated a sympathetic reception on the part of the unhappy people to whom Your Majesties are the bearers of a regular regeneration, the delirious reception given by these poor Indians to their sovereigns has surpassed our expectations. That indeed is the best answer we could give to J. Favre, and others of his school.

I beg Your Majesty to remember me to the Emperor, and to be assured of the feelings with which I am

Your Majesty's most devoted sister and friend,

Eugénie.

July 30, 1864

See page 437

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE. JULY 30, 1864

Madam and good sister,

I thank Your Majesty for your interest in the Emperor's accident, which was in fact a mere nothing; he was not in pain for a single moment, but the papers exaggerated it to such an extent as to make people believe he had been in danger.

I am going to send the Emperor Maximilian's letter to the Emperor, but it will be impossible for him to reply by this mail, for I

have barely time to add a few lines to the letter which I wrote this morning.

I can understand all the difficulty which Your Majesties must experience in finding men, for if they are rare in all countries, it must be even more difficult when the whole of society has been convulsed by continual revolutions, but the adage which says that what is needed is the iron hand in the velvet glove was never more applicable than in the case of peoples of Latin race, and especially Mexico; the foreign element often takes offence, it is true, but when they think it is only a temporary measure it produces quite a different effect — perhaps on these grounds they will be more patient of this interference, which is, however, so necessary to them.

I am happy to learn that Your Majesty is pleased with the Superior of the Sisters of St. Vincent; these good sisters know how to make themselves loved everywhere and it is a very great glory for France to see that this congregation always goes to the spot where there is good to be done.

Hidalgo has just informed me that Your Majesties are about to start on a long journey; I hope that the rainy season will not make it too difficult. Mgr. Labastida seems to me unlikely to accept a compromise; it is really deplorable that earthly possessions play such a large part in the sentiments of those who ought to be most detached from them. I confess that as regards Mgr. Meglia I greatly fear the atmosphere with which he will be surrounded, which will perhaps give him a false idea of things. Gutierez [*sic*] Estrada is about to leave for Rome; these illusions will no doubt also be imparted to the Sacred College, and from one illusion to another, what is practical and true will disappear. I think I ought to say all this to Your Majesty, so that you may be on your guard; it is superfluous to add that we will do all we can to make the truth clear, but will they want it in Rome? . . .

I beg Your Majesty to be assured of the sentiments with which I am

Your Majesty's good sister,

Eugénie.

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. COPY. AUGUST 9, 1864

Sir my brother,

The financial question in Mexico is too vital not to be the object of my unremitting attention. Unwilling to wound Mexican susceptibilities from the outset, I tried to form a ministry out of elements existing in the country, which should be capable of restoring order and system to the government. By this means I succeeded more quickly than I had hoped in obtaining from my ministers themselves the somewhat painful avowal of their incompetence, especially as regards the business of the Finance Ministry. This is a victory for me, and it is henceforward admitted by the most influential Mexicans that foreign talent must be admitted to direct the principal services.

While I was staying at the palace of the Tuileries, Your Majesty, in recommending M. Corta to me, kindly promised that this deputy, whose administrative and financial knowledge I appreciate more deeply every day, should remain at my disposal as adviser during the period necessary for the reorganization of the State finances.

M. Corta is, however, of opinion that as a French deputy he cannot occupy an official position and remain in charge of the financial affairs of Mexico without the previous sanction of Your Majesty and the president of the Chamber; he therefore feels it his duty to return to France by one of the next boats.

M. Corta is daily becoming more necessary to me; allow me, then, to press Your Majesty to secure me his co-operation in the creation of the new empire, at least during the period necessary for organizing the service of the finances.

While remembering me to the Empress, be pleased to accept anew the assurance of the high esteem and unchangeable friendship with which I am Your Majesty's good brother,

Maximilian.

Mexico, August 9, 1864

See page 437

THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE TO THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE. MEXICO. AUGUST 27, 1864

Madam and good sister,

I am availing myself of Marquis Corio's visit to Paris to send Your Majesty a few lines, according to my habit, and am also sending you several articles on the celebrations of August 15 and the Emperor's journey which will interest you.

The Emperor has everywhere been received with great enthusiasm, greater, he tells me, than any he had ever witnessed before. At San Juan del Rio during a banquet given to the garrison, he proposed the toast of the Emperor Napoleon, which, according to the reports of eyewitnesses, was received with indescribable enthusiasm.

The toast was simultaneously telegraphed to General Bazaine. He was dining with the French Minister, who had also just proposed the toast of the day. General Bazaine rose with great emotion and said: "See what I have just received. To the health of the Emperor Maximilian!" and the names of the two Emperors so gloriously associated together were lost in the common acclamations which rose from the lips of every Frenchman. It was, they assure me, a fine moment.

As for me, though unable to propose any toast, I associated myself none the less cordially with those which were proposed and wrote to General Bazaine offering him my heart-felt congratulations, which I repeat to Your Majesty today. The Emperor and you may rest assured that you have most sincere friends in Mexico. I greatly regret that M. Corta is thinking of going away, for we highly value his quick wit and tact in all questions. He is in civil life what General Brincourt is in the army, these two men have a way which is all their own of winning and retaining the sympathy of the Mexicans. The expedition in the north is advancing, Monterey and Matamoros will be occupied simultaneously about now. As to Oaxaca, there are contradictory rumours in circulation; it is said that General Brincourt has pushed onwards to avenge the French flag and our Government for the insults of Porfirio Diaz. The fight at San Antonio, where Captain Noyer of the 7th regiment of the line and sixty soldiers successfully repulsed two thousand men commanded by that guerrilla leader, will be counted one of the French army's finest feats of arms.

I beg Your Majesty to accept the assurance of the feelings of great affection with which I am,

Your devoted sister and friend

See page 437

THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE TO THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE, SEPTEMBER 10, 1864

Mexico, September 10, 1864

Madam and good sister,

The post is leaving in a few hours' time, for the bad state of the roads makes it necessary to dispatch it earlier. None the less I want to avail myself of it to thank Your Majesty for your kind and affectionate letter of July 30. I am greatly touched by your lively interest in Mexico and I appeal to your friendship with the request that it may be continued. Only allow me to beg you not to attach too much importance to the enthusiasm of the Indians, as signifying that the country needs fewer troops. I know very well that these will necessarily be reduced one day, but I take the liberty of observing to Your Majesty that the later this happens the better. Although they are well-disposed, the people are so apathetic, partly by nature, partly as a result of their misfortunes, that if the effective strength of the French army were suddenly reduced, it would cause the gravest discouragement to those who look forward to a future for the country, and the greatest insecurity for the inhabitants. The Indians in the villages are still coming in daily, asking even for one company of French soldiers. Colonel Foure of the zouaves told me recently that at one place in the Sierra he had been asked to leave at least a sub-lieutenant. This will give Your Majesty some idea of the need which these poor people feel for the French army and of the good it does them, not to mention the fact that, though Juarez has been driven out of Monterey, he still occupies the three richest territories in the north. Unfortunately there is one idea which is not yet developed in our good Mexicans — namely, the instinct of defence; between ourselves, they allow themselves to be pillaged and ravaged without resistance, and as it will take time to inculcate these notions, Your Majesty's troops are at present their only refuge.

I am sorry to inform Your Majesty that the Emperor was rather

indisposed at Irapoato, owing to an inflammation of the throat. Fortunately it is easier now, and he is better. Not being with him, I was very anxious. We shall have been separated for a month tomorrow. I expect he will actually spend the anniversary of Independence Day at the village of Dolores. We shall try to celebrate it here as splendidly as possible. It is a good thing to prove that the Empire is merely the keystone of the arch of which the foundations were then laid. There will be popular rejoicings, and all the theatres will give free performances. I am delighted that in this way a number of French soldiers will have their share of the festivities at the French theatre.

Every Sunday I see General Bazaine, with whom, as with all the army, we are on the friendliest terms. Lieutenant-Colonel de Courcy, son-in-law of General de Gorgon, has just arrived from inland. He will probably be made commandant of a garrison; on the other hand Captain de Raney is taking his wife back to France. Madame de Courcy is left as the only feminine representative of the army.

Since the Emperor's departure I have given a few little dinners, diversified by Mexicans and Frenchmen. It is also his desire that I should preside over the Ministerial Council, like Your Majesty, and following your good example. Moreover, on Sundays I hold public audiences in the Emperor's name. A good number of former officers of Juarez have already presented themselves at them. Besides this, I visit as many schools and institutions as possible. Today I am just back from Tlalpan, where we have seen another two factories, one a paper-factory, the other a cotton-mill. The latter is managed by Spaniards, one from Asturias, the other from Old Castille. Your Majesty would have been pleased to hear them talking with that pure and correct accent which we Mexicans have not got, but which is far prettier. I was accompanied by Monsieur and Madame Almonte. We had luncheon out of doors under some great trees, with the officer of the Chasseurs d'Afrique who escorted us. I am telling Your Majesty all this because I know you love descriptions. Madame Almonte and I often say: "How happy we should be if the Empress Eugénie were to come here!" and then we begin deploring the ocean and the distance.

I beg Your Majesty to remember me to the Emperor. I was glad to see that England is beginning to favour the idea of a congress.

Be assured, Madam and good sister, of the truly affectionate feelings with which I am,

Your Majesty's most devoted sister and friend,

Charlotte.

See page 450

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE. UNDATED, ABOUT SEPTEMBER 1864

Madam and very dear sister,

I hear by telegraph that there is a letter for me from Your Majesty; I shall probably receive it tomorrow, but as the mail is leaving today, I cannot delay writing. Your Majesty will excuse me if my letter is not an answer to yours. Mgr. Mellia [*sic*] has been appointed nuncio for Mexico by the Holy Father; unfortunately his character, which is not very conciliatory, has not won him many friends among the French clergy and I believe that his long stay in Paris has done little to modify his ideas in a more liberal sense, but perhaps when he is at work, this will all change and he will not cause Your Majesties annoyance about a question which is already most complicated. I have not much news to give Your Majesty at present; it is as though all questions were dormant, and it is fortunate for everybody that calm follows excitement, which is often very factitious.

I need not tell Your Majesties how much and how often our thoughts are with you; the great aim to which you have devoted yourselves will meet with complete success, and we quite appreciate all the difficulties against which you have to struggle, for nothing is harder than to undertake the moral education of a whole people.

Before leaving for Châlons the Emperor desired me to present his homage to you, and remember him to the Emperor Maximilian.

I beg Your Majesty to be assured that I am for life

Your Majesty's most devoted sister,

Eugénie.

See page 440

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III TO THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. ORIGINAL. SEPTEMBER 14, 1864

Sir my brother,

I have just received Your Majesty's letter of August 9 and have only time to write you a line before the packet leaves. I am having a letter written to M. Corta to induce him to stay in Mexico, for I

think it very important that he should help organize the financial services. I have already heard that since Mexican agents have again been placed at the head of the customs at Vera Cruz, the most deplorable irregularities have once more started. I hope that Your Majesty's journey has gone off well and that it will be of great use to the future of your country. I renew my assurance of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am Your Majesty's good brother,

Napoleon.

St. Cloud, September 14, 1864

See page 450

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE. SEPTEMBER 24, 1864

Schwalbach, September 24, 1864

Madam and very dear sister,

I have received Your Majesty's letter here, which is what has made it impossible to reply, for the packets start again so soon after their arrival that it is often difficult to be in time even when one is in Paris. I have therefore written a telegraphic dispatch to inform Your Majesty of the cause of my silence.

I was very glad to hear that you had stayed in Mexico City during the Emperor's absence, for besides the fact that in such a troubled country one needs to feel protected, there is also the advantage that they see they are as well governed by you as by the Emperor; in such a vast country it is indispensable, for to all Mexicans stability consists in the possession of the capital, and to see the sovereigns leave it must cut all the *seniorés* (*señores*) to the heart, but I can understand how painful this separation must have been to Your Majesty.

The Emperor has written to me that Monsieur Corta would stay in Mexico at Your Majesties' orders. I am very glad, for he is very able and may be of service; one of the great difficulties is to introduce morality into the public services when they have been so long accustomed to maladministration.

M. Escandon writes that he has formed a company in England to exploit his railway concession; it appears that it is to be opened to the public in four years' time. If this is the case, it will undoubtedly be

an enormous advantage, for European capital will get used to finding its way out there and the future generation of Mexicans will acquire habits of order and work which are bound to be lacking at present. I am still afraid that Mgr. Meglia may cause Your Majesties trouble; however, we have been promised that he should be given conciliatory instructions.

I am very pleased with Schwalbach, and if it were not for the absence of those I love, I should be very happy, for the waters are doing me the greatest good, and especially the quiet, which I am greatly enjoying; I know absolutely nothing of what is going on in Europe; I think of nothing but my cure, which I badly need, for fatigue has made me so weak that I find it hard to recover.

I beg Your Majesty to remember me to the Emperor, and be assured, Madam, of the feelings of esteem and affection with which I am

Your Majesty's most devoted sister,

Eugénie.

See page 445

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. NOVEMBER 11, 1864. DRAFT

Sir my brother,

I received Your Majesty's last friendly letter on the very day of my return to Mexico City, after a journey which, though long and trying, will soon, I hope, prove fruitful. During this tour through a part of the country remarkable for its wealth, I was able to recognize that the inhabitants of the provinces are better able to appreciate noble motives and are more devotedly patriotic than those of the capital, who have unfortunately been under the bad influence of the foreign element, which has for too long past been used to taking advantage of disorder and revolution to make (or try to make) their fortune (by whatsoever means).

I believe in the loyalty of the majority of the Mexican people (and without closing my eyes to certain possible difficulties), I think that with the loyal co-operation of the marshal I shall manage to (be able to) await calmly the materialization of a loan (which shall make the future secure and) of which Mr. Fould holds out hopes to me for next spring (and which shall make the future secure

I had reckoned that, as a result of the remarkable policy adopted by Your Majesty in settling the Italian question, the Roman Curia would enter upon a reasonable and conciliatory course with regard to Mexico, but if we are to believe the dispatch of which I am sending Your Majesty a copy, even the pretensions of the Mexican clergy fall short of the demands of the pontifical Government.

I shall therefore be led to display an immovable resolution in the solution of this important question, which is moreover dictated by my duty to the people which has elected me and to the future of Mexico.

I am very happy to learn that my first measures have Your Majesty's approval. I hope that those which I have felt it my duty to take since my return will also be deserving of the same favour.

I beg you to remember me to the Empress, and I renew my assurances of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am Your Majesty's good brother,

Maximilian.

Mexico, November 11, 1864

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III AND THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE. ST. CLOUD, OCTOBER 30, 1864; RECEIVED ON NOVEMBER 29, 1864

To Her Majesty the Empress, Mexico.

On the occasion of the Feast of St. Charles we wish Your Majesty the fulfilment of your desires for yourself and the beautiful country over which you are reigning. May Providence grant you all the happiness which we desire for you.

Napoleon, Eugénie.

See page 448

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III TO THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. ORIGINAL. NOVEMBER 16, 1864

Sir my brother,

I have not written to Your Majesty for a long time, for before doing so I was waiting to be able to examine the matter thoroughly

before communicating to Your Majesty the result of the information I had received and my considerations arising out of it. I am the better able to express my ideas fully because I have lately had a long conversation with the King of the Belgians, and was able to convince myself that we were fully at one as to what would be the best advice to give Your Majesty in your own interests. Firstly, we feel it to be time that you should settle those questions which concern the actual organization of Mexico as speedily as possible. After consulting the natives of the country, as you have rightly done, it is essential that your will should be made plain, and that there should be an end to uncertainty with regard to some highly important points. The solution of the following questions is impatiently awaited.

1. The property of the clergy
2. Administrative organization
3. The organization of justice
(4. Omitted)
5. (*sic*) The law on recruiting for the army
6. Financial organization.

I have not much to say to Your Majesty on the first five points, especially as I believe you have arrived at definite ideas on these different subjects. I will merely venture to press you to arrive at some kind of decision, anything is better than uncertainty. As to point 6, which is of the greatest importance, it should be well understood that the establishment of its credit is a matter of the utmost necessity to your Government. Bonds have already been issued here of a new loan, which, combined with the first, might give Your Majesty a hundred million francs towards the early months of next year. But it is necessary for this that a sound bank should be well established in Mexico, and I think it is a piece of rare good fortune for Your Majesty that the leading bankers in Paris, in association with good houses in London, consent to place themselves at the head of this establishment. It is obvious that these men of business hope to make money, but they will also render enormous services to Your Majesty by acting as intermediaries in dealing with financial transactions with Europe, and by laying the foundations of sound credit in Mexico. I therefore advise Your Majesty to accept the offers which are being made to you. And in this connexion I venture to say that in labouring to found a new empire it is impossible to arrive at perfection all at once; the measures that one takes always offer certain advantages accompanied by certain disadvantages; the cleverness of the sovereign

consists in seeing whether the former outweigh the latter. — The same is the case with regard to the question of Sonora. I know that Mr. Gwyn's projects have not met with favour in Mexico, and yet he is the man best able to be of service in that country.

In order to exploit Sonora it is necessary to adopt the Spanish . . . [one word illegible] for the mines, and that of North America for the colonists.

It is feared in Mexico that Sonora may become an American province, but, believe me, even if nothing is done, it will become one by force of circumstances. Colonists and adventurers are already entering the province one by one, and as soon as a great number of them are there, without government organization and control, they will declare themselves independent. This will not happen if the Government places itself at the head of the immigration, plants its flag there, and organizes the country.

I now come to a more delicate question. I believe that Your Majesty ought to keep the absolute power for a long time; none the less I should wish that, without running any risk, you should gain sanction for your acts by an appearance of national representation. That is to say, I should consider it a great advantage in the eyes of Europe, especially when Your Majesty has completed the organization of the country and settled all the main outstanding questions, to summon a congress for *a day or two,* the members of which should be *chosen by* Your Majesty among the *elected* members of the municipalities; in this way the congress would consist of persons possessing the confidence of their fellow-citizens, and yet Your Majesty's choice would prevent it from consisting of those opposed to your policy. In your place I should inform this assembly of what I had already announced; namely, that as soon as the country was entirely pacified, I should work . . . [diligently?] at a constitution, but that I asked for a vote of confidence, so as to give me dictatorial powers for a few years longer. I submit these ideas to Your Majesty, begging you to pardon me for venturing to give you advice, but you must indeed feel that it is the genuine interest which I take in you that has encouraged me to tell you all that is in my mind.

I was very pleased to hear that Your Majesty's journey went off under the best auspices and that during your absence the Empress discharged the functions of regent with remarkable tact and skill. I beg you to present my homage to her.

Your Majesty has already done much that is good, and I rejoice to see that everybody does justice to you, but allow me to say that it

is essential to deal first with the great fundamental questions and the framework of the edifice which you are beginning to construct, before turning your attention to details.

The King of the Belgians thinks that if possible it would be very useful to employ the Mexican army on public works.

As for the railway which is to connect Mexico with Vera Cruz, I think that nothing can be more important.

I close this long letter by renewing to Your Majesty my assurances of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's good brother and friend,

Napoleon.

Compiègne, November 16, 1864

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE. NOVEMBER 16, 1864

Compiègne, November 16, 1864

Madam and very dear sister,

The departure of the post forbids me to write Your Majesty all that I should like to say; besides, the Emperor is writing at length about an interview which he has just had with the King about Mexico. M. Corta was present and was able to give much useful information. I am happy that Your Majesty considers the estimate which I have been able to make of the Mexican character accurate. I therefore understand the full difficulty of Your Majesties' task, but, for all that, I have not lost the faith I have had from the first.

The departure of the first troops must have taken place almost at the same time as I received Your Majesty's letter, but I think the effect produced in Europe cannot but be good, without, however, compromising the interests of Mexico. In reality the main question is the financial one; before very long you will be obliged to raise a new loan, which will probably be floated in Europe; the return of part of the expeditionary force will inspire confidence, and when our Chambers meet, it will be possible to tell them that the plan decided upon has not had to be modified. Besides, Marshal Bazaine is not alarmed at a reduction, which would expose him to a reverse if he were not perfectly sure of being able to deal with all contingencies.

In accordance with Your Majesty's desire, I have spoken to the

Emperor about the possibility of your keeping the officers and non-commissioned officers of the force returning to France, and his reply was that this facility had been granted to them as regards entering the Foreign Legion, and that it should be extended by this mail to non-commissioned officers whose time had expired. I am afraid it will be impossible to write, for I am myself doing so in a hurry, and the Emperor has no time to send word to the Ministry for War.

We have tried to persuade M. Corta to return, but he is kept here by family affairs, and I do not despair of removing obstacles by interesting myself in his daughter; I believe him to be worthy of the confidence reposed in him by Your Majesty. The King of the Belgians has the same opinion of him.

I beg Your Majesty to remember me to the Emperor, and to believe me ever

Your Majesty's most devoted sister,
Eugénie.

NAPOLEON AND EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE. TELEGRAM. NOVEMBER 29, 1864

Vera Cruz, November 29, 1864

To H. M. the Empress

I have the high honour of transmitting to Your Imperial Majesty the following message which I have received for Your Imperial Majesty:

"Palace of St. Cloud, October 30, 1864
"To H. M. the Empress, Mexico
"On the occasion of the Feast of St. Charles we wish Your Majesty the fulfilment of your desires for yourself and for the beautiful country over which you are reigning. May Providence grant you all the happiness which we desire for you.
"Napoleon and Eugénie"

May God preserve Your Imperial Majesty's precious life for many years.

The Political Prefect

See page 450

THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE TO THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE. MEXICO, DECEMBER 8, 1864

Madam and very dear sister,

The nuncio arrived in Mexico City yesterday evening without demonstrations of any sort. Arrangements had been made to prevent them if any had been intended. So that is a satisfactory beginning. He will be received on Saturday by the Emperor. The Emperor desires me to send Your Majesty, or rather Your Majesties, the draft concordat so that you may be informed in advance. I consider that it is admirably drafted, for it seems harmless at first sight, but is none the less very liberal. There is only one point that I did not like so much; that is the recognition of a State religion, which has been such a controversial point for fifty years past. However, as regards this country, the position of the Government is different from that of the government of the First Consul in France. The latter proposed to restore Catholicism and he knew very well that France was Catholic enough in her essence and traditions to dispense with a State religion; it was a question of form rather than of substance. Here, on the contrary, I regret to state that the country is very unlike what the excellent M. Gutierrez and his associates represented it to be; it is but indifferently Catholic. The pseudo-Catholicism resulting from the conquest, consisting in a fusion with the religion of the Indians, perished with the property of the clergy, which was its principal basis. Now, since a people must have a religion, many tended towards Protestantism as more convenient, and, above all, less costly, for the sacraments used to cost an enormous amount; perhaps also in anticipation of a future which seemed imminent — absorption by the Anglo-American race. In this state of affairs the recognition of the Catholic religion as the State religion amounts in reality to replacing the decaying remnants of the Catholicism of the sixteenth century by that of the nineteenth, with its enlightenment, charity and devotion, and *introducing* a new and purified form of worship, indispensable from the political point of view to the preservation of the Spanish race in America and alone able to check the invasion of American sects.

I confess that these considerations have reconciled me to the words "State religion," the true import of which is to be found in the toleration of other forms of worship mentioned at the beginning, which

secures liberty of conscience as it exists in France. The nationalization of the property of the clergy will arouse enormous enthusiasm and be the best means of filling the State Treasury, for by obtaining for nothing the property as yet unsold, which is of great value, and then selling it, we shall do a splendid stroke of business. I am sending Your Majesty a copy of *L'Orquesta,* a satirical Liberal newspaper, so that you may see that the concordat drafted on the previous day fulfils and even goes beyond the program of the Liberal party.

The drawing is characteristic; the Liberals, represented as bees, are entering the Emperor's hive because they find more honey there than in the wildflowers of Juarez, who is trying in vain to catch them in his net. I also draw Your Majesty's attention to the decree establishing the Council of State and nominating its members. It is to meet today and will be opened by the Emperor. I hope that this great institution, by which Napoleon I regenerated France, will also bear fruits in Mexico. After these two decrees there is a circular letter to the prefects, remarkable for the signature it bears, that of M. Cortés Esparza, President of the Supreme Court under Juarez, now an ardent admirer of the Emperor and the most advanced Liberal in the Cabinet.

Knowing how kind Your Majesty is in interesting yourself in everything concerning us, down to the smallest details, I am also sending you the program of a concert which we gave on Tuesday to an audience of three hundred. Bourdillon was present, and will be able to tell Your Majesty about it; it was not the Tuileries or the Salle des Maréchaux, but when one thinks that we are at the antipodes from all that, one could not help considering it a very nice and presentable company. The singing of the Italians brought an atmosphere of civilization very grateful to European hearts. There were some very beautiful women, among them some of my ladies-in-waiting, whose photographs I will try to send Your Majesty later.

It still remains for me to say how touched I was at your dear telegram, of which I have even the rough draft in my possession, thanks to friends who serve me well. It gave me so much pleasure that I rushed straight to the Emperor's study, copied it out then and there, and sent it to the marshal.

I hope the answer sent by telegraph will also arrive in time at the right place, and I beg you to be assured of the sincere friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's most devoted sister,

Charlotte.

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE. DECEMBER 15, 1864

Madam and very dear sister,

I was prevented only by the departure of the post from writing to Your Majesty by the English mail. I am really distressed to see the effect produced upon Your Majesty by certain complaints which may not all be justified and I hope that by the time my letter reaches you, other explanations will already be in your hands.

We have already heard in Europe of the good effect of the Emperor's journey, but we are impatiently waiting for news of his return, so as to see what financial measures Your Majesties take; this question, so important everywhere, is even more so in Mexico, and, for our part, as the session draws near, it is desirable that we should be able to say what has been done for the reform and organization of your beautiful country; for Your Majesty is aware how ready the opposition always is to seize upon everything. Unfortunately M. Corta cannot decide to [stay?], but another financier whom I commend to Your Majesties is starting shortly; unfortunately he has not M. Corta's experience of the country, but he is filled with a desire to do well, if, that is to say, his advice were asked.

The Mexican mail is announced by telegraph, but the dispatches will not arrive till the mail from Saint-Nazaire has left; it is very inconvenient, for we shall have to wait several days before replying.

The Emperor's return must have made Your Majesty very happy, for, apart from the separation, you were bound to dread the vicissitudes of a journey made in such difficult conditions, but of which the result was so happy.

I beg Your Majesty to remember me to the Emperor and to be assured of the feelings with which I am

Your Majesty's most affectionate sister and friend,

Eugénie.

December 15, 1864

See page 459

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. FIRST DRAFT IN THE EMPRESS'S HAND. DECEMBER 27, 1864

Sir my brother,

I have received Your Majesty's kind letter with great pleasure, and hasten to answer the important questions contained in it.

On arriving in Mexico I hoped that the regency and the French administration, which had had entire authority, would not only have cleared the way, but taken such preparatory measures as would have enabled me at once to settle the great questions of the reform and reorganization of the country. I can only repeat to Your Majesty what M. Corta must also have admitted: *that everything remained to be done.*

1. The question of the property of the clergy was the first subject into which I inquired. I had always been determined to settle it in the same liberal spirit as the European Governments, but since I had made personal overtures to the Holy Father, and obtained his promise to send me a responsible representative without delay, and since I had received news of the latter's arrival, I thought that it would not be proper to settle this question, either wholly or in part, without the intervention of the nuncio. This prelate, who had been in Mexico for a fortnight, was immediately apprised of my intentions: as soon as I receive official assurances that he has no powers to deal with the important questions left unsettled on his account, I shall publish the decrees for the nationalization of the property of the clergy and for the revision of such fraudulent sales as have already taken place. After that, there will be nothing left to arrange with the Roman Curia but the terms of the concordat.

2. As for the administrative organization, a new division of the Empire into departments was indispensable; this long and difficult task has just been completed; it only remains to put in force the administrative system drawn up by my Minister of the Interior and submitted to the Council of State.

3. The organization of justice is also completed. But before setting up the new courts it was necessary to settle the question of the property of the clergy. We cannot disregard the fact that our best and most honourable magistrates are leading members of the clerical

party; a breach with the nuncio might involve the disorganization of the courts when they have scarcely been established! I consequently felt it more prudent to await the solution, which is imminent.

Though it is true that the imperialist party is growing daily, we cannot be blind to the fact that public security still leaves much to be desired, for yesterday I received news that the enemy had entered Toluca, a town a few hours from Mexico, which the Empress and I visited barely two months ago! For the time being, therefore, far from hastening to provide for the organization of a Mexican army by a law dealing with recruiting, I have decreed that the numerous undisciplined bands, which did more harm than good and were ruining the country, should be dispersed, and have authorized the soldiers to return to their homes; by this means the labour so badly needed for agriculture will be set free, and we shall preserve only a nucleus consisting of the élite of the officers and volunteers.

4. Before I arrived in the country, it was possible for me to believe that the capital placed at my disposal by the Mexican loan would be sufficient to enable me to wait till the finances of the Empire were reorganized.

From the moment of my arrival this illusion vanished, and as soon as I had ascertained that there were no Mexican experts available, I appealed to the devotion of M. Corta, who retired (I hope only temporarily) just as his presence was becoming more and more necessary!

While awaiting the arrival of a capable financier, I have been trying to collect the necessary information, *which was lacking,* for arriving at a budget of ways and means for the coming financial year; this budget, which is at present being examined by the Council of State, involves, on the one hand, a saving of at least ten million piastres, and promises important increases in receipts. On the other hand, in order to secure the establishment of a Franco-Mexican bank, I sent MM. Bourdillon and Baron to Paris a month ago. I have every reason to suppose that the bank is already formed; these gentlemen have further been entrusted with the mission of drawing up a project for a loan with MM. de Germiny and Corta, the necessity for which is well recognized. I may add that I hope to be able to arrive at an amicable settlement of the question of the railway from Vera Cruz to Mexico without incurring too great burdens for the future.

Lastly, the establishment of a regular Government in Sonora under the simultaneous protection of the French and Mexican flags is the object of all my care, and will, I hope, enable me in a not too distant future to enhance the resources of this interesting portion of my vast

empire. Thanks to the establishment of this Government, I shall then be charmed to see Mr. Gwyn attract there the many American colonists who appear to be merely awaiting a sign from him to come and group themselves round him to seek their fortune.

As for the summoning of a congress having as its object to obtain sanction, by a vote of confidence, for retaining dictatorial powers for a few years longer, I will venture (I venture) to point out to Your Majesty: firstly, that this vote of confidence was given me by implication by the (great mass) majority of the population at the time of my last tour of the country, (and) secondly, that, in the opinion (by the admission) of the most liberal Mexicans, the time has not yet come when such a project as should really be sanctioned by the whole of Europe could be carried into effect wisely and with any certainty of success (for putting such a project into execution with any certainty of success). The more I study the Mexican people (the Mexicans), the more I arrive at the conviction (I believe) that it will be necessary to try to make them happy without their aid, and perhaps even in spite of themselves.

I conclude this long letter by begging Your Majesty to be so good as to remember me to the Empress, and I renew my assurances of the feelings of high esteem and sincere and grateful friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's good brother,

Maximilian.

Chapultepec, December 27, 1864

See pages 452 and 457

THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE TO THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE. DECEMBER 27, 1864

Chapultepec, December 27, 1864

Madam and very dear sister,

I have received Your Majesty's kind letter of November 16 with great pleasure, and I hope that the interest which you are taking in M. Corta's daughter will decide her father to return soon, for he is as necessary to us as our daily bread, and I am sure that he will have a heavy account to render at the last judgment if he does not come here to do the good work to which he is called. I am much touched by the Emperor's promptitude in acceding to my request for French

soldiers; I only ventured upon this remark in order that time should not be lost while awaiting the return of the proper authority. The Emperor Maximilian has written to the Emperor Napoleon to inform him of all that has been done or planned recently. I do not want Your Majesties to suppose that we are advancing lobster-fashion, and yet, looking at things as you do from Europe, I should not be surprised if this were your idea, and perhaps it might be my own in your place. Only the fact should not be lost sight of that if we are concerning ourselves with details, it is in order to fill up the inevitable intervals between the settlement of important questions, which advance, and cannot do otherwise than advance, very slowly. In civilized nations there is an organ which responds to every pressure from authority, one can touch it like a keyboard and produce the desired sound, but here one might go on strumming on it all day, for it is like a dumb piano, and the effect of a measure is hardly felt beyond the paper on which it is recorded. We are therefore concerned, not only with making decrees, but with seeing how our decrees are carried out, and if at the outset — or even today — we had insisted upon settling some vital question in the columns of the official gazette before making sure that everything was ready to carry it into effect, our work would have served no purpose save that of dazzling those who read the paper in Europe, for we should have been no better off here. This is a sad truth, but truth it is, and that is the key to many delays which one cannot understand unless one lives in Mexico. I am telling Your Majesty all this so that you may be perfectly informed of our position in relation to the country. If the Emperor, with his superior intelligence, were here for half an hour, I believe he would confirm our opinion. What touched me more than anything was the real and, I almost venture to say, paternal interest which he displays towards the Emperor Maximilian. Your Majesties know that we are not backward in affection and gratitude.

We are in the midst of the greatest tribulation with the nuncio, and in this connexion I am bound to say that my political sense has been entirely at fault, while Your Majesty was right. I should not have thought it possible that where the interests of religion are so obviously bound up with the concordat which we desire to conclude, the nuncio would have made the slightest difficulty. But he is like a madman, and I made the marshal laugh on Sunday by saying irreverently that all he could do was to throw the nuncio out of the window. Really, he was, as it were, a crazed mind, a blindness, an obstinacy with which nothing can compare, and in addition to this he actually

ventures to maintain that the country, which is simply steeped in hatred of theocracy, desires that the property of the clergy should be restored. It is as if someone were to come and tell us in broad daylight that it was dark, but unfortunately, and I admit that it is a humiliation for us Catholics of this century, the Roman Curia is made that way. Napoleon I made some remarks on the subject which are startlingly appropriate to our case, and yet Pius VII was a great pope, for he concluded the concordat of 1801. The Emperor handed the concordat to the nuncio during a very outspoken interview, and, judging by the nuncio's answers, thought there would be no difficulty as regards three or four points, and that, as for the rest, they would be referred to Rome. Not at all, and here I would rather not say what I think of the nuncio's attitude; two days later, a confidential messenger was sent to him, to whom he stated that he has no instructions; ergo, that he will do nothing. This was a thunderbolt to the whole ministry, the Emperor, and myself; a ministerial council was held at which it was decided — to the delight of the marshal when the Emperor informed him of it — that a letter would be published ratifying Juarez's laws if the nuncio did not yield.

On the following day, Christmas Eve, I summoned the nuncio, for the Emperor did not wish to see him after the nuncio had gone back on his own assurances; and I talked to him for two hours. I may tell Your Majesty that nothing has given me a truer idea of hell than that conversation, for hell is nothing but a hopeless impasse. To want to convince somebody and to feel that it is time wasted, that one might as well be talking Greek, because he sees things black and you white, is a task worthy of the damned. Everything slid off the nuncio as though off polished marble. At last he ended by telling me that it was the clergy who had made the Empire. "One moment," I said; "it was not the clergy, it was the Emperor, on the day of his arrival." I made all possible representations to him, in every tone, serious, playful, grave, and almost prophetic, for the issue seemed to me bound to lead to complications, perhaps even to a rupture with the Holy See, and to great detriment to religion. Nothing was of any use, he brushed aside my arguments like so much dust and put nothing in their place, but seemed to take pleasure in the nothingness that he created round him and in the universal negation of light. I then laid before him the ultimatum of the Emperor's letter, and said to him as I rose: "Monsignore, whatever may happen, I shall take the liberty of reminding you of this conversation; we are not responsible for the consequences, we have done all we could to prevent what is

going to happen, but if the Church will not help us, we will serve her in spite of herself." On the following day the Emperor held a conference with the Ministers of State, Foreign Affairs, and Justice, to which he summoned the archbishop, and M. Lares, besides requesting me to attend it. He expounded the subject from the beginning in an impromptu statement, admirably clear, succinct, and vigorous; he told us what he had said to the Pope, what he had made his minister write, and how he had waited eight months out of deference to the Holy See, and finally stated his opinion as to the necessity for a solution. As a last respite, the ultimatum to be presented to the nuncio was postponed to January 1. M. Lares and the archbishop, trembling lest they might see Juarez's law revived, promised to do all they could to prevail upon the nuncio, though the answers given by him to M. Lares were identical with those he had given me. The Minister of Justice was devoted enough to seek a solution for the last time. The leaders of the Conservative party are in favour of the concordat as the sole chance of salvation left them by the reform laws. I have no news of the latest appeal made to the nuncio, but it is evident that it will lead to nothing; I suppose he will depart. The Emperor is forcibly reminding M. Lares and the archbishop that by the concordat he was making concessions to religion even against the will of the nation, because he realized that the country ought to be Catholic, and that he would make it so, but he added that, since Rome had broken its word by sending him a nuncio with no instructions, the dignity and interest of the Mexican people demanded that the Government should state its will irrevocably, in order to restore peace to the country, the dissensions in which had no other source than the question of the property of the clergy.

The Emperor was extremely eloquent, and I consider that the persons present, though lawyers, did not express themselves as well as he did, for they preferred evasions to a radical solution, especially M. Lares. However, his attitude surprised and pleased the Emperor, comparatively speaking; it proves that the ideas of these gentlemen are moving to a certain extent in the direction of progress, for six months ago they would have thought themselves damned for what they are now accepting with a fairly good grace.

I am sorry to have to tell Your Majesty that, whether owing to the recall of the troops — necessary though I realize it to be — or to some ill luck or other, the pacification of the country is again much hampered. Yesterday, for instance, Romero attacked Toluca, which is only a few hours from Mexico. I should not be surprised if he were to

take a walk in this direction. Michoacan and Guadalajara (departments of Jalisco) are still at the mercy of the bands; General Douay is in pursuit of them, but we have no news of him. I am also bound to mention our good marshal's excessive indulgence to the Mexican troops formed at the time of the intervention, who decamp at the critical moment from the positions which they are supposed to protect. It is true that the expedition against Oaxaca has just opened with a fine feat of arms worthy of the French army, but I regret that it has been entrusted to a general who, though a most excellent man, does not seem to me distinguished enough, General Courtois d'Hurbal. Four months ago General Brincourt, who had been studying this question for two years with characteristic ardour, was only two days from Oaxaca when he received counter-orders and had to fall back upon Tetuacan. Next, the command of Puebla, which placed him in a position to pursue this expedition, was taken from him, and he received that of León, where there is nothing to do. It is to be regretted that the bands are going about at their own sweet will, while such an energetic officer is doing nothing. And our excellent marshal will not believe it; a week ago, when there was the first alarm at Toluca, I asked him whether he would not send somebody against Romero —he answered, with his shrewd smile, that it was all exaggerated. That would have spared him and us the humiliation of having the enemy at the gates of the capital, endangering the life of those who were cheering us two months ago. No sympathy could survive such vicissitudes.

Now, Marshal Bazaine is a very clever man, essentially kind-hearted, straightforward, and devoted to the country, and with boundless military ability, who suceeds in all his enterprises, whatever they may be. I therefore cannot help wondering how these events which I have related to Your Majesty can have happened — the removal of General Brincourt, the sending of General Courtois to Oaxaca, and the devastating marches of the bands under the very eyes of ourselves and everybody else; for two months ago at Toluca, when the marshal was present in the town, we saw the guerrillas riding about the country, *two thousand metres away*. I said nothing about it to Your Majesty at the time for fear of saying too much, but now I want to hide nothing from you which it may be useful for you to know. I do not see in all this any natural consequence of the well-known character of the marshal, whom we sincerely love and esteem; I am therefore inclined to think that, just as in the case of the great there are court influences, so in the case of army com-

manders there are influences on the general staff. And I fear that the solution of all this must be sought in the marshal's secretariate, perhaps in the head of it, Lieutenant-Colonel B. [Boyer]. I cannot support this by any definite facts, but they say that women guess what they do not know, and I am inwardly convinced of what I have told you, trusting in Your Majesty's kindness, for it is very bold of me to mention such things to you, but since I have been coming more and more to this conclusion for several months past, I appeal to the name of sister, by which etiquette authorizes me to call you and which is confirmed by my heart, to lay this idea before you, requesting that it should go no further than the Emperor.

I repeat that we have not the slightest grievance or cause for dissatisfaction with this officer; we even treat him as cordially as the rest; I know that every time he has been in our intimate circle, he has spoken kindly of us, and not long ago, during the Emperor's absence, I obtained for him and a few others the cross of the order of Guadalupe, which was conferred on him this summer. So it is not an intrigue against him that I wish to set on foot, but I am firmly convinced that if he could be removed from this country in the most honourable way, whether by promotion, a mission, or a higher position, which might make him regard the matter as a distinction and a favour, the interests of Mexico and consequently of France would gain considerably by it. There are men who do harm in one position who would do good elsewhere, and, what is even more curious, I have often noticed that two persons who do badly together are perfectly in place when separated. The marshal, whose good qualities I was just now enumerating, has only one slight weakness; namely, that he is impressionable to an extent incredible in a man of his stamp. Hence the danger from his entourage. On the other hand, his private secretary is excessively tenacious, opinionated, harsh, and abrupt; I believe him to be naturally inclined to what the English call "making mischief," like officials (*hommes de bureau*), or men whose career has been thwarted for some reason or other. Merely to judge from appearances, he is the only French officer whose face does not appeal to me, its expression has such a character of unamiable severity and habitual disagreeableness.

I do not know whether the marshal, who treats all his young aides-de-camp like a father, is particularly attached to his private secretary, but I have no reason to suppose so. Another thing I do not know is whether a marshal's private secretary can be removed

elsewhere — perhaps if the exchange were to his advantage, B. would decide in favour of being recalled?

I leave this to Your Majesties to decide, and I believe I have acted in your interest, as well as in that of Mexico and the marshal, in whom I am interested, by the frankness of this explanation.

If, however, Your Majesty considers that I have overstepped the bounds of our fraternal relations, I will be more reticent another time.

Meanwhile I beg you to accept the renewed expression of the feelings of tender friendship and sincere esteem with which I am

Your Majesty's good sister and friend,

Charlotte.

NAPOLEON AND EUGÉNIE TO MAXIMILIAN AND CHARLOTTE. TELEGRAM. NEW YEAR'S DAY, 1865

To H. M. the Emperor

I have the honour to transmit to Your Majesty the following message from Señor Hidalgo. Hidalgo has just received the following telegram from the Empress Eugénie:

"The Emperor and Empress, Mexico

"We send Your Majesties all our wishes for your good fortune and the prosperity of your beautiful country.

"Napoleon, Eugénie"

May God preserve Your Majesties for many years.

The Political Prefect

See page 455

THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE TO THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE. JANUARY 9, 1865

Chapultepec, January 9, 1865

Madam and very dear sister,

I shall not write to Your Majesty at length today, for I cannot tell you much that is good. The situation is rather strained; thanks to the nuncio and the clergy, I think it is as strained as is possible in

this country. There is nothing alarming for the future, perhaps it is even better that the storm should break once and for all, but it is an unpleasant quarter of an hour to go through. This state of affairs has now been going on for a week, and, for my part, I could wish it were over. The bishops are writing petitions which are respectful in form, the nuncio unseemly notes, the ladies filial remonstrances; in short, every passion is let loose, the extremist newspapers are rending each other tooth and nail, the advanced Liberals are exclaiming that Juarez's ideas have triumphed and spitefully exulting in their opponents' discomfiture, the Conservatives imagine that they are the temporal subjects of the Pope, and are fools enough — I apologize for the word — to believe that religion consists in the tithe and the power to hold property. Behind all the steps taken by the nuncio, who is a mere puppet, can be quite plainly perceived the figure of Mgr. Labastida, whose bad Italian I know so well that I can recognize it in every line. Moreover, it is being said that the era of *pronunciamientos* is not at an end, that it is perhaps only beginning. Amid all this, the Emperor is calm and resolute, steadily following the path of duty, but when one sees the rage of the old parties, one would think that the Empire had never come and placed itself between them. This casts a depressing light upon the natives of this country, for it is quite clear that even among those who set up to be the champions of religion it is not this which is in question. I should never have believed that this conflagration would blaze up so quickly; it is true that it had been smouldering beneath the ashes for a long time. It is a most ungrateful task to reduce a corrupt clergy to submission, and for my part I could have wished that previous governments had undertaken this task. There is no knavery of which the spirit of evil is not capable in stirring up resistance and stubbornness. Since troubles never come singly, the interior is still being devastated; bands seem to spring up out of the ground in places where there were none before. Zitacuaro now serves most of them as a sort of den or headquarters. The marshal has left for Oaxaca and there is nobody here but the Belgians, fortunately under General L'Hériller [*sic*], whose intelligence and energy inspire me with the greatest confidence. All this is the vicious consequence of the unfortunate expedition to Oaxaca which did not come off last summer; if Oaxaca had been taken, there would not be so many troops there now, and they could be fighting the bands, besides which the marshal would not have gone there, which would have been very much better, for if the least thing happens to him, it would be unfortunate from every point of view.

They say that the preparations made up to now are not such as to facilitate the capture of the place. This is what the officers say. However, I do not doubt that with his rare prudence and consummate skill in playing a waiting game or acting energetically according to the circumstances, he will achieve glorious things, but it will certainly be at the price of great sacrifices which would perhaps not have been necessary earlier.

On January 1 the Emperor instituted a new order, the decree concerning which I am sending you, and he is hastening to offer it to the Emperor Napoleon before anyone else. He has also promulgated a decree on precedence, on the basis of that of Messidor, which is the most rational one, for Spanish etiquette had no longer any *raison d'être*. All this has appeared in a new official gazette, which we intend to be a daily.

I hope that by the time Your Majesty receives this letter, our dark days will be drawing to a close; everything was going on so peacefully — why must evil passions take possession of men, especially on this side of the ocean?

I beg Your Majesty to be assured of the tender and sincere friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's affectionate sister and friend,

Charlotte.

See page 462

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. DRAFT IN THE EMPRESS'S HAND. CHAPULTEPEC, JANUARY 10, 1865

Sir my brother,

I have just founded the new order of the Mexican Eagle, and in reserving to sovereigns the highest class of this decoration, the Grand Cross with collar, my first thought was to offer it to Your Majesty as a sign of my true and grateful friendship for him whose moral and material support never ceases to bear witness to his lively solicitude and disinterested affection. I have therefore instructed my Minister in Paris to convey the insignia of the Mexican Eagle to Your Majesty before any other sovereign. Political difficulties and a certain irritation caused by the deplorable conduct of the nuncio will probably force me to take vigorous measures against certain general officers,

and perhaps even against the dignitaries of the Church, who, according to their inveterate custom, seem inclined to take advantage of this occasion to conspire.

Your Majesty will no doubt soon see General Marquez, whom I am removing from the scene for the present in order to withdraw him from the pernicious influence of the clergy, to whom he has always been attached.

Among the natural products of our Gulf of Cortez, there is one which seems to me curious enough to be presented to Your Majesty: some shells of the pearl-oyster; I should be happy to know that they were placed on your writing-table to receive the ashes of those pleasant cigarettes which incline one so agreeably towards business and meditation.

I beg Your Majesty to remember me to the Empress, and to be assured of the feelings of high esteem and deep friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's good brother and friend

Chapultepec, January 10, 1865

See page 473

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. MEXICO, JANUARY 27, 1865

Sir my brother,

Though we have not heard from Marshal Bazaine, we none the less hear that the operations at the siege of Oaxaca seem bound to assume such proportions as to necessitate a fresh movement of troops.

On the other hand, though the movements of the Dissidents do not alarm me, they cannot fail to cause me a certain anxiety, and in the present state of things I do not hesitate to declare to Your Majesty that any fresh reduction of the effective strength of the French troops would be premature. General Douay, who is leaving for Europe, will, if Your Majesty is so good as to question him, be able to prove to you that the numbers agreed upon by our secret treaty are *barely sufficient.* It would, I think, be an advantage if this general, who seems to me to have great military ability, were to return to Mexico. Major Loysel of the general staff, whose knowledge and intelligent devotion I have had opportunities of appreciating, is willing to take service in my army. If Your Majesty were so good as to

promote this distinguished officer to the rank of lieutenant-colonel on mission, I could at once start by making him a colonel, in command of a Mexican brigade which is in course of organization.

By authorizing French officers to enter my service as officers on mission, Your Majesty would enable me from the outset to create the cadres which would secure the future of my nascent army. But I venture to call Your Majesty's attention to the interpretation to be put upon the treaty of Miramar, which places the Mexican troops or those in the service of Mexico under the orders of officers of the French corps. I do not doubt that in the case of a new army formed out of picked elements, even if these were Mexican, Your Majesty will recognize how difficult it is to allow the continuance of a seniority which might lead to placing under the command of a sub-lieutenant in a French corps an officer who had been his major, and was now a Mexican colonel.

I beg to be remembered to the Empress, and renew to Your Majesty my assurances of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's good brother,

Maximilian.

Mexico, January 27, 1865

See page 468

THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE TO THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE, JANUARY 26, 1865

Chapultepec, January 26, 1865

Madam and good sister,

I received with great pleasure Your Majesty's kind letter by the last packet, which unfortunately also brought us the sad announcement of the death of M. Mocquard. I beg you to tell the Emperor how greatly we sympathize with him; true friends are so rare in all positions that it is an enormous misfortune to lose them. For my part, I do not remember having seen M. Mocquard, but I know he was devoted heart and soul to his master, and as such I regret him as if I had had the opportunity of knowing him.

I repeat that Your Majesty's kind letter gave me a double pleasure, for it was not only a proof that you remember us, but a token of the friendship which never ceases to unite us. To speak frankly, we

rather need it at this moment, for the situation is far from having cleared up. I do not know whether Your Majesty knows that the Holy Father in his playful way himself says that he has the evil eye. Well! It is a fact that since his envoy set foot on our soil, we have had nothing but vexations, and we are expecting quite as many in the near future. I do not think we lack energy and perseverance, but I have come to ask myself whether, if the difficulties continue to increase at this rate, there is any human posssibility of emerging from them. In fact the actual state of affairs is as follows: the clergy are mortally offended by the letter of December 27 and are hard to overawe; all the old abuses are combining to thwart the Emperor's intentions with regard to the clergy. These elements are inspired, if not by fanaticism, at any rate by such underhand, scheming persistence, unknown elsewhere, that I feel it is impossible that the present members of the clergy should ever form a new one. What is to be done with them? That is what I wonder. When Napoleon I obtained from the Pope the deprivation of the bishops who had emigrated, they lived abroad and resigned themselves as holy men should. We have some here who would willingly abandon their palaces and crosses, but not their revenues. A state salary would never bring them in so much, and their ideal is to live in Europe on their money while we are struggling here to establish the position of the Church. The sales of their property are to be re-examined — another apple of discord, for by recognizing the reform laws we have brought the Conservatives down upon us. Now we shall have the Liberals attacking us, for they have been purchasers, and I think even some French residents. As the same treatment must be meted out to all, those who have indulged in various illicit practices will have to make restitution, and I fear that this work of reparation and justice will arouse as many passions as the loss of their property has done in the case of the clergy.

While all this is going on, Oaxaca has not yet been captured. The marshal started on the 2nd, and we have heard nothing since the 10th or 12th. If ill luck had it that the least thing went wrong there, the bomb would burst in several places; the *Puros* would triumph, for they have a concentrated hatred of the French army.

For the last month we have been passing through a grave crisis; if we come out of it victoriously, the Mexican Empire will have a future — if not, I do not know what we are to anticipate. For the first six months everybody finds the government charming, but only touch anything, set your hand to any task, and you are execrated.

The reason is that nullity will not be dethroned. Perhaps Your Majesty may think as I did that nullity is a pliable substance; on the contrary, in this country you knock against it at every step, and it is of granite, it is more potent than the human mind, and perhaps none but God can bend it. It was easier to build the pyramids of Egypt than it would be to overcome Mexican nullity.

But even all this would not be so serious if it were not for one fact of capital importance — the army is decreasing, and with it the strength of the government. I am still afraid that the substance may be lost for the shadow; the Corps Législatif will doubtless have something to say, but the speeches in it are those of lawyers, more or less well expressed; here we have facts which may prove fatal to France in the highest degree, and imperil the work which was founded by her and is destined to hand down the name of Napoleon III to future generations. It is all very fine that everybody should say, as in the English Parliament, that Mexico is so well organized that it will be able to maintain itself without help from anybody, but I prefer to take my stand on realities. In order to civilize this country, one must be absolute master of it; in order to have free play, one must be able to make one's power effective every day by big battalions; there is no arguing against them. Any power which one is not in a position to make effective at once has only a contingent value; it is like funds which fluctuate. They have been falling for some time past, hence the lack of troops. The Austrians and Belgians are good only in times of calm, but let a storm arise and there is nothing like the red trousers. If I may venture to tell Your Majesty all I think, I believe it will be very difficult to weather all these first crises, which affect our very existence, unless the country is occupied in greater force than at present. All the forces are much scattered, and I think that instead of recalling any, there ought perhaps to have been an increase. The marshal will perhaps repent of not having written as we asked him to do in October. His good nature was too much for him; he foresaw that he might arouse an outcry in France, and I think he sacrificed a lesser unpleasantness only to gain a greater one.

This is not merely my opinion, for I should be afraid to avow it with so much assurance; it is that of General Douay, who will himself repeat it to Your Majesty. He is an extremely capable man, versed in military affairs. It is that of General d'Hériller [*sic*], an officer of boundless energy, good judgment, and practical intelligence. They all say they are uneasy, not so much for us as for themselves, for we could, if need be, recover from a set-back — nobody would be

surprised — but the French army could not. We could, if need be, retire to a distant province, as Juarez has done; we might return to where we came from; but France cannot be balked of a triumph, in the first place because she is France, and in the next place because her honour is at stake.

I beg Your Majesty to remember me to the Emperor, and kindly to meditate a little upon what I venture to say to you from the depths of a most affectionate heart and to be assured of the feelings of sincere friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's devoted sister and friend,

Charlotte.

Postscript, January 29, 1865

I am sending Your Majesty the résumé of *L'Estafette,* written from memory; you will see all that is being done in the material sphere. I hope that the convention concluded with the company for the Vera Cruz railway will be acceptable to the Emperor. As to the troops, will he be so good as to remember that when he saved France at a solemn moment of his existence, he also had some behind him? We can only save Mexico by the same means. . . . It must not be believed that this country really wants regeneration, though everybody is always talking about it; it is in books and on people's lips, but they take a delight in chaos because it is old and ugly, because it is so old that it is national. As for the clergy, though you would have acted as we have done from conviction, yet we do it above all as the heirs of the intervention. It therefore seems to me just that France should uphold what has been said in her name. As I was talking to General Douay lately, I said to him that the clergy were a big business, and he answered: "Yes, it is a *coup d'état.*" And for a *coup d'état* troops are needed. Your Majesties have embarked upon a great enterprise; you have gone on with it in the teeth of public opinion, because you knew that success would prove you to be in the right; you found the only man who could and would undertake it — a man (or rather two persons, who are sincerely and truly attached to you) who will never have any relations with you which are not full of confidence, friendship, and gratitude. You found all this and it seems to me that Providence has served you well. The question now is to make one last effort which shall crown your achievement. If Your Majesties arrive at a prompt resolution and decide to support us, things will be finished much sooner and the moment will be hastened when Mexico and France will have none but relations of gratitude and mutual interest.

If the opposite is the case, Mexico will perhaps see herself gravely and fruitlessly imperiled. You, Madam my good sister, who have done so much for this country, will not abandon it: reflect that your interests cannot gain where ours suffer; think of the Emperor and your son, and France will applaud, for France has ever been true to success, generosity, and glory.

See page 483

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE. JANUARY 29, 1865

January 29, 1865, Tuileries

Madam and very dear sister,

I thank Your Majesty for your long letter; all that it contains gave us great pleasure; the project for the concordat is perfect, but will it be accepted in Rome? The other day I saw the nuncio, the day after the mail had arrived (I had not yet received Your Majesty's letter); we naturally talked about Mexico and Mgr. Meglia's mission. I told him that the nuncio's language had not seemed very conciliatory to those with whom he talked on the way from Vera Cruz to Mexico. Mgr. Chigi, after stating that he knew nothing officially, assured me that Mgr. Meglia wanted to appear *very black in order to get gradually whiter* — those were his very words — and that with *time* and *patience* everything would be settled. I replied, a little sharply I admit, that there were questions in which time was of fateful import, that indecision was not and could not be the same as conciliation, and that at the end of this business of the property of the clergy, the solution of which, moreover, was impatiently awaited, there lay a grave question of credit which must be settled at all costs — moreover, it was now necessary to choose between the Catholic Empire and annexation by the United States, with a consequent Protestantization of Mexico, for Your Majesties were the country's only sheet-anchors; it was everybody's duty to facilitate your task and not to render it impossible by demands which nobody would understand, for it would be sacrificing the grand moral ideal of regenerating a whole country to the temporal possessions of a regrettably dissolute clergy. This argument appeared to have an effect on him, though he protested against the *principle*. I wanted to give Your Majesty an account of my conversation in case it may be useful to you. I was all the more at ease in speaking like this since I was only bas-

ing my remarks on private letters from some of our officers who had talked with the nuncio before his arrival. I also consider that Your Majesties have done right in recognizing the Catholic religion as the State religion, for it is that of the majority, and consequently deserves to be protected. I confess that for my part I am too Catholic, without, however, being intolerant, not to be very glad of it.

In article J, *Fueros* (local rights and privileges) is left blank. I do not know what importance they may have in Mexico, but in the old days in Spain they were the cause of great abuses, since by this means they had the right to an exceptional jurisdiction. I beg Your Majesty to excuse me if I enter into these details, but your friendly letter to a certain extent authorizes me to do so.

The Countess Zichy passed through Paris a little while ago. Prince Metternich told me that she was enchanted with her stay in Mexico; she is delighted with everything, the climate, the richness of the soil — in fact, with all she saw there. I even believe that she does not dislike the guerrilla bands — that is to say, their picturesque side. The way she spoke did good here, for Your Majesty knows that there is more than one St. Thomas, especially in politics. M. Bourdillon tells me that the Emperor had not ratified his concession for the Vera Cruz railway, which I can well understand from the bases about which he told me. I hope it will be possible to float the loan which Your Majesties wish to raise under good conditions; I have no doubt of this so soon as the question of the property of the clergy is settled.

The Emperor desires me to present his homage to you. I also beg you to remember me to the Emperor Maximilian and to be assured of the sentiments with which I am

Your Majesty's most devoted sister,

Eugénie.

THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. FEBRUARY 2, 1865

Sir my brother,

I offer Your Majesty my sincerest thanks for the magnificent Sèvres vases which have arrived in Mexico during the last few days, and which M. de Montholon has had the kindness to bring with him and carry up to the palace in person.

Not only am I touched by the beauty and kindness of the present, but it is another reminder of our visit in March, which has left such a deep and indelible impression upon us.

I beg that Your Majesty will always rest assured of the feelings of high consideration and esteem with which I am, Sir my brother,

Your Majesty's good sister,

Charlotte.

Chapultepec, February 2, 1865

See page 471

THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE TO THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE, FEBRUARY 3, 1865

Chapultepec, February 3, 1865

Madam and beloved sister,

I fear I may have alarmed or grieved you unduly by my letter of the other day, but, in any case, pray see in it no more than the expression of the affectionate confidence with which Your Majesty inspires me. You must understand the need that I feel of pouring out my heart to you whenever anything is weighing upon it, and the situation during the last month oppressed me horribly. I now feel as relieved as a man who has had a great sin on his conscience and confessed it. My conscience is at rest whatever happens, even my spirits have recovered to a large extent. If I did not believe that our interests in this question are the same, I should not have expressed myself with such warmth, for, of the two courses open to us, I had rather we remained in difficulties than that Your Majesties should incur any on our account, but it seems to me that, far from incurring any, you will extricate us in company with yourselves from those which might come upon us.

I hope that the Emperor will effect no more reductions before he has heard General Douay. I think that if we are to do well this year, we shall require an effective force of forty thousand men, including all nationalities. This means that if a few thousand more could come to us from France, by continuing recruiting elsewhere, with the aid of money (though I do not know where we shall get it), we might perhaps reach this figure. It seems to me that M. Jules Favre could not but approve of our being assisted in combating the clergy, for it is only the latter which, combined with disorder and the Juarista bands,

calls for an increase of the troops. This would be far from decreasing the confidence felt in the future of Mexico even in Europe, for it is in fulfilling its duty that our Government is meeting with resistance from the elements which it is bound to destroy so as to clear the way to order, progress, and the true and brilliant future of this country —*European immigration.*

It will not be long before France reaps a rich harvest from what she has sown. The traffic between Le Havre and Vera Cruz was considerable last year, and who knows how many French will come and settle here?

As to what the good marshal said — that there are more organized bands from Vera Cruz to San Blas and from Durango to Monterey — Your Majesty would think I give you false reports if this were true, but nothing could be less accurate at the present moment, and General L'Hériller [*sic*] is obliged to dispatch expeditions from Mexico in every direction with the greatest energy, there are so many bands.

It is also announced that a certain number of *pronunciamientos* are about to take place in favour of "*religion y fueros*" (religion and local privileges), at Guadalajara among other places.

It seems to me that it would be easy to send us some reinforcements from Algeria now that everything seems to be over there. Frankly, supposing that we were not supported, we should have to set aside all our projects of reform and govern as M. Gutierrez desired, surrounding ourselves as with a great wall of China. I quite see that this system was perfectly rational; it was also eminently Mexican and that was what was wrong with it; whereas it is our mission gently, affectionately, but none the less surely, to attract to Mexico a stream of population which shall absorb the old one, for there is nothing to be done with the existing elements. I should say it quite openly if I were not afraid that it would be repeated here. I rely upon immigration, which will perhaps begin this year, and if I were not convinced that it would be considerable, I should be bound to admit to Your Majesty that all we are doing would be to no purpose. The affair of the clergy has been the touchstone which has confirmed me in all the ideas which I formed as soon as we arrived, and I see that I was not mistaken. However that may be, it is rather fortunate that we have found out in time that Europe alone can fitly people this Empire, and if Your Majesty's gentle influence can provide us with a few more troops, the situation will be *afianzada* (secured). I do not doubt for a moment that Your Majesties will regret

the reductions when you know what is going on. I therefore rely with the utmost confidence upon the hand which pressed ours on March 12 and which on April 10 traced those lines which are the expression of a great power as well as of a sovereign friendship: "Always rely upon my friendship and support."

I put my trust in that hand, in Your Majesty's heart, and in him who said: "God helps those who help themselves."

It seems to me that by all these means together, we cannot fail to triumph.

The poor Holy Father is doing us a pretty service in Europe with the encyclical. If I might allow myself a slight irreverence, I should say that if it comes from any spirit at all, I do not think it is the Holy Spirit. Our Lord gave peace to His Apostles and did not address them in any other terms; nowadays it is trouble that they are trying to disseminate.

Ah! if Bossuet were still living, it would be he and the clergy of France, who are so able and so Catholic, to whom we should owe the salvation of Europe from a schism. If it were not for the Gallican church, confusion would fall upon men's consciences in the attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable. God did not make faith and reason to contradict each other, but to confirm each other. I find this very consoling.

To pass from this subject to a more trifling one. I see from the French papers that I have been speaking in prose without knowing it, for I am giving Monday evening receptions exactly like Your Majesty. I think people quite enjoy them, and the dresses are charming, the guests most presentable; there is a tinge of Your Majesty's country in the beauty here. We have a Spanish lady in Mexico City who is magnificent, the wife of a doctor named de Solis; at the ball at the Bourse lately she had powdered her hair and twined a poppy-red velvet ribbon in it; the effect was dazzling — a regular Sappho of the antique world. Another very beautiful woman is Mme Sanchez Navarro, one of my ladies-in-waiting, the type of a Murillo Madonna, with the black eyebrows and long eyelashes of an Oriental. With all this she wears a row of enormous pearls from the Pacific Ocean. I shall try to have some fished for in the spring; it appears that that is the season.

The fact remains that the Emperor Napoleon received the first which were brought to the Emperor, it was a homage, or rather a tribute due to him from these seas.

As for our costumes, we dress in the Mexican fashion, I go out rid-

ing in a sombrero, our meals are in the Mexican style, we have a carriage drawn by mules with quantities of bells, we never use any wraps but sarapes, I go to mass in a mantilla; in short, if we have any secret thoughts of emigration, it does not look like it. It is not reforms that shock men, it is the way in which they are carried out; and so in all that is external and puerile we conform to all that is most Mexican, to such an extent as to amaze the very Mexicans themselves. My parties end after one o'clock. Next Monday will be the sixth. I dance a few quadrilles, one of which is regularly with General L'Hériller [*sic*]. I am gradually inviting all the French officers, even the paymasters, who had a great longing to dance.

At the end they sound the charge, and we have a galop which goes very fast and somebody always ends by falling down. General L'Hériller is always good-humoured and gets on very well with the Emperor. I said to him lately: "General, you do not know how *couleur de rose* I have been since I wrote everything I had on my conscience to the Empress" (my dress that evening happened to be pink). "Your Majesty is very happy," he replied with his usual animation. He is activity itself, and in the marshal's absence we should have been badly off without him. Douay, L'Hériller, and Brincourt would make a magnificent triumvirate. As to the secondary generals, if the impending reduction were to apply to them, I should certainly not oppose it. I do not know either Aymard or de Castagny, but as regards the rest, I consider that the first three certainly carry off the palm. Perhaps Your Majesty is prejudiced against General Douay; the Mexicans did not like him at first, I do not know why. He is a very able man, very upright and very energetic, and appears absolutely free from pettiness; he loves action by nature, not out of ambition, and he is practical and has no illusions, though gifted with an imagination which enters into everything, and with tireless ardour. The Emperor was struck by this and it attracted him from the first. He is also very frank; he told me that he knew people were slandering him, and I replied that it was a point in his favour. The world in general is implacable to superior natures, especially in a country where everything is superior. If the Emperor sends General Douay back to Mexico, as we hope, he will do wonders, he is the man we need, a firm will and an iron hand combined with justice and straightforwardness. He will be a faithful interpreter of his sovereign's will, he will disguise nothing and do everything. In this country incessant campaigning is necessary — a single day's respite and things go wrong. I do not think it does young officers any good not to be kept

at work. They are simply left to stroll on the Paseo; the Bois de Boulogne is certainly prettier.

I am told that General Maussion is coming back. I do not think he lacks intelligence, but he is far from possessing L'Hériller's swiftness of action, in this place where we never know what a day will bring forth. I hope that his arrival will not entail the departure of L'Hériller, which would be most *regrettable*. Life here is almost like the Middle Ages; we are gay, contented, and calm, and yet there is nothing to prevent a band of guerrillas from falling upon us at any minute. Up here we have cannon and a system of signals for communicating with the city. But that does not prevent us from being always on the look-out. The night before last I got up on hearing cannon-fire; it was a tumultuous celebration in honour of the Virgin of Tacubaya, as if the Presentation had taken place at four in the morning; I suppose it was to allow for the difference of time between here and Jerusalem. All religious festivities take place here at night, amid an explosion of fire-crackers, as if the earth were being rent asunder. In the daytime festivals go off more quietly. There is no denying that this country has a character all its own; Gutierrez was quite right about that too, except that he liked it, whereas we see nothing to respect in it and shall act in such a way as to change it. The masses are excessively stupid and illiberal, and it is not the *licenciados* (intelligentsia) who will stir them up; that explains the strangle-hold which the clergy have managed to obtain on them; it does not educate the people, and so they remain as they are, and because they are as they are, the clergy has a free hand.

Your Majesty has doubtless read Marie Antoinette's charming letters published by M. d'Hunolstein? This suggests the reflection that everything comes to light one day, whether one is celebrated or not; one does not know what may happen, and when one expresses judgments that are not very charitable, it is not at all to be desired. Your Majesty will see what I am driving at. In order to be quite sure that the Mexicans do not know what I am saying about them until a new nation is in being which will say the same, I should be glad if Your Majesty would destroy all my letters. They are intended only as conversations; once the idea is expressed, my object is attained. It would be a service on your part which I should appreciate extremely.

Meanwhile, in concluding this long letter I beg Your Majesty to be assured of the unchanging attachment with which I am

Your Majesty's good sister and friend,

Charlotte.

February 5. I had reached this point when, yesterday morning, I found this admirable article in *L'Estafette,* which made me almost jump for joy. If I might hope that Your Majesty would show it confidentially to the Emperor, I am sure that, with his usual sagacity, he would recognize the truth of it. It is the language of a Frenchman, very French, very independent, and who knows Mexico.

What is more, he is a man not yet twenty-four. From what I hear, the clericals are uncompromising, a fusion of parties is no longer to be dreamt of. One of them is bound to destroy the other, things have never been otherwise here. Heaven send that we remain masters of the situation till April, when it may be possible for us to receive some aid.

THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE TO THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE. FEBRUARY 24, 1865

Chapultepec, February 24, 1865

Madam my sister,

I am happy to say that today I can dip my pen in an ink that is slightly less black, for since the deputation left for Rome, the situation has reverted to a condition in which it had not been for two months. The spring is beginning, and seeing the air of happiness which prevails in nature, I cannot think that fresh thoughts of discord ought to arise.

The capture of Oaxaca, carried out with that deep-laid skill and masterly calculation which I have always admired in the marshal, the death of Rojas, the capture of Romero, the famous *guerrillero* who was prowling with impunity so near to Mexico City, besides various other successes which have been achieved over the bands, especially those of Simon Gutierrez and Martinez, have contributed towards retrieving the situation.

It was high time, for after a single inconclusive operation — not to say an unsuccessful one — the bandits grow so bold that one has quite enough of them on one's hands. This should prove to Your Majesty that everything has not yet been done, and if I sometimes venture to make representations, it is because it remains evident that the situation leaves room for it.

If calm has once more descended upon all things, the newspapers,

the clergy, etc., this is because many people imagine that the property of the clergy will not be touched before the Pope has given his answer. The publication of the law on revising the sales, which will appear about now, will arouse fresh passions, nor do I suppose that toleration will be carried through as easily as a letter goes through the post. M. Lares carried his Conservative opinions so far as to try to make out that foreigners coming into Mexico did not want to worship here in their own fashion, for it was only money that brought them here; that they got on perfectly well without any religion and he did not see why this state of affairs should not continue. Strange reasoning for a sensible and religious man! M. Uraga very rightly answered that this was heading straight for atheism and indifferentism and that he considered it better that persons who, after all, venerated the true God should worship in their own way than not at all.

It is said, Madam, that the wind in France is blowing in the direction of economy in the military budget. Nothing can be more satisfactory to everybody than to see this great country profiting by her vast resources, and Mexico, for her part, will always be happy to contribute towards this, but without going back over all I have already taken the liberty of explaining before, I beg Your Majesty to bear two things in mind: firstly, that in this country every measure of government that is carried into effect causes a shock, while every reform is a social revolution; and secondly, that the guerrilla bands are not the offspring of any cause that can be foreseen, but of a sort of spontaneous generation, which means that it will be long before we can consider ourselves rid of them.

The United States also seem to be ill-disposed and wish to keep their consuls accredited to the "Mexican Republic." The import of this is not very great, but it is of some weight as a symptom, and as such I call Your Majesty's attention to it.

I have just been interrupted by the arrival of M. Bonnefond, whom the Emperor presented to me, and I talked to him for a while. He brought me a number of kind messages from Your Majesties and I do not think the answers would have been any less cordial had they been audible in Paris. One cannot help pouring out what is in one's heart. The marshal returns tomorrow. I have sent him a grand cordon from my Father, with which I think he will have cause to be pleased. He is giving a fancy-dress ball on Shrove Tuesday! General de Maussion and his wife have arrived, but I have not yet seen them. I can only repeat to Your Majesty the high esteem with which we

are inspired by General L'Hériller's [*sic*] conscientious, honourable character and active love of duty. During the two months for which he has been in charge of affairs, the greatest activity has been incessantly displayed, and it so happened that it was the most serious crisis through which we have passed, for the marshal left on the eve of Vicario's *pronunciamiento.*

General L'Hériller would be quite ready to continue his service in Mexico. I am to a certain extent responsible for putting this idea into his head, and it is for this reason that I am again approaching Your Majesty, in order that he may, if possible, be left to us. The Mexicans love and respect him, and that is everything. Recently two ministers praised him to me simultaneously for his justice and fair dealing. General Brincourt is the only other person who has been so generally praised. With regard to the latter I can only repeat my regrets that he is not more actively employed, for several persons who know him well have confirmed my own opinion that he has exceptional military ability, which, moreover, justifies the especial kindness shown him by the Emperor Napoleon, who is such a good judge of men. Only it appears that General Brincourt is rather embittered in consequence of certain events last year; this is noticed owing to the fact that he does not send in many reports to the proper quarter, and because the position in which he is at present affords him no opportunity of doing so.

I sent Your Majesty by the last packet an album of photographs of Mexican ruins, which I thought might afford you a little interest. Captain Garcin of the general staff and his wife, Mlle de Montholon, are returning to France by this boat. If Your Majesty cares to talk to M. Garcin, he can tell you many things of interest; he is a sensible, right-minded young man, whose judgments are not lacking in propriety. From every point of view I feel that his wife, who married him for love, has not made a bad choice, for he seems to have sound principles, and so far it is a very happy marriage. I recommend these two young people to Your Majesty's goodness, for since their marriage took place under our auspices, I am naturally interested in their future. M. Garcin intends to go to visit Marshal Forey in Lorraine.

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE.
UNDATED. EARLY IN 1865

Madam and very dear sister,

I am writing to beg Your Majesty to receive with your accustomed kindness the Marquis de la Ribera, the Spanish Minister accredited to Your Majesties. He is the son-in-law of the Duc de Rivar, an old friend of mine. By giving him these few lines to Your Majesty I shall merely be forestalling the esteem which he will be able to win for himself when he is better known to Your Majesty.

Be assured, Madam, of the feelings with which I am

Your Majesty's most devoted sister,

Eugénie.

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE.
FEBRUARY 28, 1865

Palace of Mexico, February 28, 1865

The Empress of the French sends Your Majesty the following dispatch:

Since the mail is leaving this evening, I cannot answer Your Majesty by letter. I will make it my business to acquaint myself with the matter which appears to cause you uneasiness.

I will write the result by the next mail. I congratulate Your Majesties upon the decisions at which you have arrived.

Eugénie

See page 484

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON TO THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. ORIGINAL.
MARCH 1, 1865

Sir my brother,

I have to reply to several letters which Your Majesty has written me. I must first congratulate you upon the energy which you have displayed in the matter of the property of the clergy, while regretting that on arriving on Mexican soil you did not regard the matter as already settled by the provisional Government; by so doing you would perhaps have avoided incurring the animosity of part of the clergy. But since it is done, it is necessary to redouble your energy and resolution, and use all your efforts to carry the measure decreed into effect.

I greatly regret the local insurrections which still impede the pacification of the country. Such being the state of affairs, I am having instructions sent to Marshal Bazaine not to reduce the army of occupation any further. As for the Mexican army, I think it would be very dangerous to disband it now, it would only swell the ranks of the Dissidents. Major Loysel may take service under Your Majesty; he shall be detached on mission with the rank of lieutenant-colonel; the minister is sending orders to this effect to Marshal Bazaine, and, as to the interpretation of the treaty of Miramar, I seem to recall that French officers are to have seniority over Mexican officers of equal rank. But it is essential in forming mixed detachments that the command should not be given to a Mexican officer, for it would be difficult to make French officers obey him. I am impatiently awaiting news from Oaxaca, I was grieved to hear of the reverse near Mazatlán. I consider that the troops are much scattered; and it would be desirable that Mexican columns alone should pacify Sonora. We have been rather uneasy at the news from America. However, it looks as if the war will still last a long time, and when peace comes, the United States will think twice before declaring war on France and England.

I thank Your Majesty for sending me the new order which you have created.

Mr. Fould is devoting great attention to the new loan. I once more recommend Your Majesty to display energy, to settle all questions

of organization promptly, and to employ the Mexican soldiers in repairing the roads; and I renew my assurances of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's good brother,

Napoleon.

I beg you to present my homage to the Empress.
Paris, March 1, 1865

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE. UNDATED. IN ANSWER TO CHARLOTTE'S LETTER OF FEBRUARY 3, 1865

Madam and very dear sister,

I have not much time to answer Your Majesty's letter, which has this very minute reached me.

The Emperor has just told me that for the moment there will be no reduction in the army. It is true that the circumstances have become more difficult, but all political measures of importance bring with them difficult moments, which can, however, be surmounted by means of calm and energy. The next post will, I hope, bring news of the capture of Oaxaca, and then Your Majesty will see one of those sudden changes which are, alas! only too frequent in this troubled country. Today's news arrives at an awkward moment, on account of the Chamber and financial questions, but we have passed through many vicissitudes of this kind before.

I am very much afraid that the idea of disbanding the Mexican army may merely increase the guerrilla bands, which would be a pity, especially from the European point of view, for people would try to ascribe a political character to what is really only a question of brigandage.

Your Majesty may be sure that Marshal Bazaine is one of the best soldiers we have; that is a fact beyond contradiction, and he is too well aware of what is due to the honour of France to risk compromising it; but however large an army of occupation may be, it is impossible to guard every point in such a great empire — we are consequently bound to expect to see the occurrence of small local movements from time to time.

Your Majesty will doubtless consider me optimistic, but I believe that one must be so to a certain extent, for difficulties often increase

or diminish in accordance with the demeanour of those in high places, and I do not doubt that the calm displayed by Your Majesties helps to bring about a good result.

My affectionate remembrances to the Emperor, and I take a hurried leave of Your Majesty, assuring you of the feelings with which I am

Your Majesty's affectionate sister,

Eugénie.

See page 483

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE. MARCH 1, 1865

Tuileries, March 1

Madam and very dear sister,

I have taken pains to find out what was M. B.'s [Boyer's] position, and whether there is any way of obtaining his recall by giving him promotion, but unfortunately it is not long since he was promoted, and it would be very difficult to have him sent home without giving some reason — however, what Your Majesty said in your letter shall not be lost sight of.

The letter which I have just received was what might have been expected, for some emotion was bound to be felt after the Emperor's decision, but I am happy to find that Your Majesties are calm, and consequently quite resolute. It is high time that authority, which has been so shaken for a long time past, should bring home to everybody that the era of *pronunciamientos* is closed for ever. We are doing all we can to make it understood in Rome that it is absolutely necessary to come to an arrangement, and according to the latest news, they would not be averse to concluding the concordat on the basis of the one with Spain. I say this subject to all reservations, not being quite sure of its authenticity.

The article dealing with freedom of worship may be included in the civil code, but Rome cannot admit it as an article of the concordat; in short, she will submit to it, but will never give it her sanction. I also think that if Your Majesties were to fix the stipends of the lower clergy, and begin to allow them to draw their emoluments from the funds which will be raised by the revision of the sales, the lower clergy would be separated from the higher, which

alone has hitherto enjoyed great wealth, and would thus render a solution easier. The nuncio here thinks that Mgr. Meglia has sufficient instructions to settle matters if he wanted to, but as I have told Your Majesty before, his character is but little suited to conciliatory measures; during his stay here before, the clergy complained of it a great deal.

I hope the next post will bring us better news. I am told that M. Thiers intends to make another violent speech on Mexico, but M. Corta has seen and spoken to a number of deputies, which has produced a good effect, so I think things will happen as they did last year, and perhaps he may even say nothing if he finds the ground better prepared.

I beg Your Majesty to excuse me if I speak my mind freely, I hope you will see no motive in this save the lively interest which I take in Your Majesties and the Mexican nation.

I beg Your Majesty to be assured of the sentiments with which I am

Your Majesty's most devoted sister and friend,

Eugénie.

THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE TO THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE. MARCH 8, 1865

Chapultepec, March 8, 1865

Madam and very dear sister,

I owe Your Majesty many thanks for your kind letter of January 29, which gives me double pleasure because it does not mention your health, which proves that the reports on the subject at which I had been so grieved are devoid of foundation. Moreover, Madam, if Your Majesty wished to spend your next winter in a hot country and did not dread the sea, you know very well that there is one where you would be received with open arms and not only loved, but adored. If it were not terribly selfish, I could almost wish that Your Majesty were really an invalid, so that we might have the happiness of curing you here. However, since one must not think of oneself, I am much happier that Your Majesty should be in good health and not require anybody's care.

What you were so good as to tell me about the nuncio interested me greatly. It was indeed as we thought; he had some cards in

reserve, but played his hand badly. He probably supposed that we should take the trouble to wait till his "black" period was over, instead of which we took him at his word, and all his calculations *han ido errados* (went astray). Solomon said long ago that "the stone falls back upon him who rolls it."

I presume that in a few days' time General Douay will arrive in Paris. Will Your Majesty kindly remember that the triumvirate, in which I place all my confidence in our interests and those of France, ought to consist of that general, with Generals Brincourt and L'Hériller [*sic*]. With these three men we should be well armed against all contingences both at home and abroad, and I am sure that Your Majesties' friendship will help to bring about this result for us. We are devoting ourselves body and soul to Mexico, it would be a fine and reassuring prospect to have three friends here who should bring glory to France and security to the new empire. And it is not asking much, for we have a mass of generals, but I am more insistent on quality than quantity. And even if we were to lose a few, these three would be worth them all. Your Majesty will perhaps be surprised to see me express such downright views on the subject of generals; it is one of the results of our position; one's sense of preservation and observation develop when one is in the midst of a great enterprise with few to rely upon except oneself, and I am so much in the habit of seeing and judging French officers — even those who are not generals — that without speaking to them I pride myself upon deciding at first sight which are the most energetic and distinguished. And so Your Majesty may believe me when I tell you my impressions, which have all been confirmed up to the present. It is difficult to tell by a man's face whether he is scientific or artistic, but one cannot be mistaken about a good soldier or a good priest, for there is something which reveals whether they have the vocation and pursue it with fervour. Love of duty and devotion can be recognized from afar.

The marshal is still very much taken up with his fiancée. His nephew Furesira (?) goes about saying everywhere that he is not going to marry, but I think he is a man of too much heart and honour to trifle in this way with the simplicity of a young girl before the whole of Mexican society, and even in his own house. At the fancy-dress ball recently Mlle Peña (for that is her name) was the queen of the ball-room; she danced two quadrilles, the lancers, and the habanera with the marshal, who then escorted her to the buffet, after which his aides-de-camp had several waltzes with her.

Well-informed persons would have it that he has already asked for her hand and that an old aunt, of whom she is the heiress, is the obstacle. She would be making a great mistake, for, apart from his great position, the marshal will be an excellent husband, as he was to his first wife.

It appears that General Brincourt is advancing on Chihuahua, of which I should be very glad for his sake and our own. Commandant Maréchal of Vera Cruz has just been killed, leaving a widow and a daughter. He had marched out with fifty Egyptians, which seems to me somewhat imprudent, and came upon Chato Diaz's band, which nobody knew to be about; this will prove to Your Majesty that we are never sure of anything.

Like Colonel Martin at La Estanzuela, he had no choice but to kill his opponents or die himself. The enemy were a hundred to one. Though duty is always duty, it is sad to die for so poor a reason. That is the danger of weak and scattered garrisons. Two officers in the Zouaves near Tulancingo and a major in the Chasseurs d'Afrique near Mazatlán also sacrificed their lives, two months ago, for results which were not worth it, being surprised by superior forces and unexpected contingencies.

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THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE TO THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE. MARCH 28, 1865

Chapultepec, March 28, 1865

Madam and very dear sister,

I am sending Your Majesty the official gazette containing the law dividing the Empire into fifty departments, and a little pamphlet on our journey to Toluca last autumn. The English mail arrives tomorrow and will perhaps bring us some news from Your Majesty. Mgr. Munguia is about to sail and is gradually losing his sight, which does not prevent his moral sense from being as active as ever. We have Lenten sermons twice a week, and our little court is beginning to look like an old one. There has been a fresh batch of chamberlains, and I have distributed among my ladies my monograms (*chiffres*) which have arrived from Paris. Last Sunday the great officers of the Court and of our civil and military household took the oath after the preacher had said many beautiful things about fidelity to the Emperor, as being equivalent to patriotism. It was

very moving, especially when he added: "If there is anyone false among us, let him withdraw." They all seemed to be imbued with the grandeur of the act which pledged their fidelity to their new sovereign. God grant that they remain so. Last Sunday we walked on the Vega among the people along the canal, on which floated *canvas* manned by Indians, crowned with poppies and dancing the *jarabe*. No sooner had they recognized the Emperor than they raised frenzied shouts of "Long live our Emperor," and certainly this was neither artificial nor prearranged. The people were greatly touched by this promenade, we walked along the foot-way while all the great nobles and carriages thronged in the central avenue, for the Emperor said that he wanted the people to see that he was interested in them and not in the gilt coaches. We did not return to our own till it was time to drive back into the city.

Yet that is characteristic of this land *sui generis,* where one can walk about in the crowd with no guards or police of any sort—there are curious contrasts between this continent and Europe. Passions here are certainly less deep-seated, they only glide over the surface.

The marshal has just announced his approaching marriage to us *unofficially* under the seal of secrecy, but he desires first to tell his august master and asks me to act as his mouthpiece in order to obtain Your Majesty's approval of the marriage which he is about to contract. I have frequently spoken to you about the young lady, and I also told you a month ago that I was sure—in contrast with the opinion of most people—that the marriage would be arranged, for I knew the marshal's character too well to believe the contrary. He now begs me to add all the details which Your Majesty may require about his future wife and her family. I asked him recently whether we might congratulate him, and as he assumed a mysterious air, I assured him how interested I should be in this event should it take place. It is because of this that he thinks I should be a good advocate of his cause to Your Majesty. Josefa Peña is seventeen years old; she has a pretty face, infinite grace and simplicity, beautiful black hair, and a most expressive Spanish type of beauty. She is an only child; her mother is a widow; she belongs to what is said to be a very good family, and has been perfectly brought up; she speaks French with a pure accent, and what speaks very well for her is that, in spite of seeing herself the object of the attentions of a marshal, and consequently of the whole French army, she has not lost her natural air for a moment, nor seemed conscious of the

admiration of which she was the centre, or of the great future opening before her — she appeared quite charmed when her future bridegroom was at her side, which fascinated him still further, for, to tell the truth, it is a very strong attachment, since it has caused the Marshal to start dancing again, and he confesses that he never misses a habanera. Once she is married, this young wife will create a great sensation with the prestige of her youth, position, and Paris dresses.

If the marshal had not forestalled me, I should have endeavoured to follow in Your Majesty's footsteps in the case of the Duke of Malakoff, but he did right to take it upon himself, for I should never have done it so opportunely.

I beg your Majesty always to be assured of the sincere friendship with which I still remain

Your Majesty's good and affectionate sister,

Charlotte.

THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE TO THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE, MARCH 29, 1865

Mexico, March 29, 1865

Madam and very dear sister,

The English mail has arrived and is going out again in an hour's time; I want to write to Your Majesty in haste to thank you for your two *kind* and dear letters, which have done me untold good.

Whatever difficulties we may have to go through, it is sweet to feel that we enjoy the compassion and encouragement of hearts like Your Majesty's.

You and the Emperor may be sure that we shall not falter in our task. Crises small and great are, in my opinion, what illnesses are to individuals; there are some through which one has to pass if one is to be really healthy, and after every momentary effervescence Mexico makes remarkable progress in every respect.

There is only one thing which would have been a grave impediment, if Your Majesty will allow me to say so; that is, if feeling had been too optimistic in France, for we are like the ivy; we shall grow into a tree, but for the moment we still need a trunk to cling to.

I thank Your Majesty for having received my remarks on M. B. [Boyer] well, I felt it a conscientious duty to speak about him.

I hope the Corps Législatif has not caused Your Majesties any trouble. It seems to me that M. Thiers has written so much that he has no need to talk so much, I cannot understand why at his age, having occupied people's thoughts quite long enough, he does not retire from the scene.

I have just sent the marshal the Emperor's letter and handed the other to the Emperor my husband, Hidalgo having put them in my envelope.

I thank Your Majesty once again for your kind affection; pray be assured of the sentiments with which our hearts are imbued towards you, and accept anew the expression of the heart-felt friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's most devoted sister,

Charlotte.

See page 524

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE, APRIL 1, 1865

April 1, 1865, Tuileries

Madam and very dear sister,

The letter I have just received from Your Majesty seems to me happier than the last. The capture of Oaxaca came as a blow to that phantom army which was left to the Dissidents, and Your Majesty has seen for yourself that the troops were sufficient; in fact, if it were a question of occupying every point in this vast empire, it is not a decisive action which would be needed, but 200,000 men. One must make up one's mind to the guerrilla bands and not attach too much importance to them; the main point is to arouse confidence in Europe, so as to attract capital. Every time a measure decreed is carried into effect, and people find themselves confronted with a *fait accompli,* I believe the resistance will grow less; I tell Your Majesties this because I know that race, which at bottom is the same as the Spanish race. After the civil war there were guerrilla bands for more than ten years, and it is only since the introduction of the *gendarmerie* and the construction of railways that they have gradually disappeared, but in saying this I quite understand Your Majesties' heavy task and the difficulties against which you have to struggle. I told Your Majesty by the last post that the departure of

the troops had been stopped for the moment; I hope you see in this a proof of the interest which the Emperor feels in the pacification and reorganization of Mexico.

General Douay interested us greatly. He is soon to return to Mexico; I think that all he tells Your Majesty of his conversation with the Emperor will be pleasing to you. I cannot recommend Marshal Bazaine to Your Majesties too highly; he is not only a good soldier, but a practical mind, who will, I am sure, render us good and faithful service. General Brincourt is also a very good soldier, but it is, I think, necessary to leave the man responsible for carrying on war the power to make use of men where he considers them most useful. — But Your Majesty, being on the spot, can speak about it to the marshal; I am sure he can give good reasons which it is impossible to appreciate here. I thank Your Majesty for the mark of distinction which King Leopold has bestowed upon the marshal. I am obliged to take leave of Your Majesty, while also thanking you for the photographs which you sent me, and which interested me very much.

I beg Your Majesty to remember me to the Emperor and to be assured of the feelings with which I am

Your Majesty's most devoted sister,

Eugénie.

THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE TO THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE, APRIL 14, 1865

Mexico, April 14, 1865

Madam and very dear sister,

When I think of all I have written Your Majesty before, it sometimes seems to me that you must find my frankness almost excessive, but, on the other hand, the very close bonds which unite us, and the exceptional position which we occupy in relation to each other, give me the courage to tell you all that is in my mind, for if I concealed it, I should be afraid of wronging Your Majesties, for whom an imperfect knowledge of affairs might often involve even graver consequences than for us. What encourages me still further is that I see that the feelings of the Emperor and of Your Majesty have been in accord with my own, to judge from the two passages which I have

just read with pleasure in the *Indépendance,* and which I here enclose, in order that Your Majesty may understand my allusion. Moreover, I had never doubted that one who is at the head of the first of empires and the greatest of nations would not fail to allow this enterprise to be carried to completion, and any man of genius who occupies the throne of France will always be absolute master of the country, even if there were four elected assemblies instead of one. It is so much a part of the national character that history teaches us that when France does not possess this one and only master, she obeys nobody. It is only governments that have followed a petty policy which have fallen, witness that of July. Napoleon I, with his numerous expeditions, would have remained on the throne till his death if they had succeeded, and there is all the difference between attacking the Russian Empire, with its snows, and founding a monarchy in Mexico, which, comparatively speaking, though of vast import for the world, does not offer half the difficulties which one might expect. I have often happened to think of all the sarcasms with which Almonte was overwhelmed and even the violent invectives poured out against him for having brought France into Mexico by saying that it was easy. Well! Almonte, though a very excellent man, has not perhaps a very exceptional intelligence, but he saw further than the others, only the thing was not possible unless certain means were adopted, and even now I am speaking from the military point of view. — It has not always been these means that have been chosen — obviously the logical consequence has been to bring about results which were not according to program.

Your Majesty observed in your last letter, which came by the English packet, that it was difficult to occupy such a vast country in sufficient force. If I were a strategist, I should venture to question this assertion, for there must be rules in existence everywhere which assure the military security of States. In Italy there are well-known strategic lines protected by the courses of various rivers, there are key-positions such as the Alpine passes, which had always been a subject of strife between the Kings of France and the house of Savoy from time immemorial till the skilful policy of France recently made her mistress of them. Here we have no river, but many plateaux and mountain chains. I suppose that by the aid of a detailed map — there are several in existence — a strategic plan of occupation could be drawn up, and then we could ask ourselves what troops are required to cover these lines. Otherwise one is at the mercy of anything that

may happen; expeditions have to be made covering hundreds of leagues, and I wonder that the unhappy events which occurred at Mazatlán, and justly produced a great effect in Europe, do not occur more often. It takes all the indomitable courage of the French army, and the lucky star which accompanies its glorious flag, to preserve it from the disasters which it sometimes escapes by no more than a hair's breadth. At La Estanzuela, for example, as luck would have it, when Juarez's army was suddenly sighted, it was met by the 2nd Zouaves and the *chasseurs à pied,* and I can state it as almost a certainty that any other body of men, however brave, would have been annihilated, for there was something almost miraculous about it, and no such fight had been seen since the three hundred Spartans. I talked to Commandant Japy, the most modest victor I have ever met, and to several officers who had been present, and they assured me that their only salvation lay in victory. It was a feat almost unheard of in the annals of war.

One reason militating in favour of a well-determined plan of occupation applicable to the whole of our territories is the actual way in which the bands are formed, a characteristic trait of war in this country. A man rides out of some town with a horse and a gun, quite determined to get rich by any means except work. He has plenty of dash and is even ready to risk his life if necessary; at any rate, he does not care if he is shot, he finds life dull and thirsts for lucrative adventures and excitement. This man recruits five or ten more of the same kidney. We have a considerable floating population with the desired propensities. They seize the cattle at the first *hacienda* they come to; this is their baptism into their profession, they are now equipped as *guerrilleros*. The newspapers at once report that so-and-so's band is prowling about such-and-such a region. The *cuadrilla* (band) next lies in wait for the stage-coach, carries off one or two rich people, and holds them for ransom (*rescate*), and makes off by little-known tracks across the sierras into another district, until it meets another band, with which it amalgamates, and sometimes with a third, and so their numbers swell from one or six men to two or three thousand, as the case may be. When the band is a very big one, it sets up headquarters, most frequently at Zitacuaro, which the French army has unfortunately evacuated several times, involving on each occasion its immediate reoccupation by the bands, not to mention the contributions levied by them and the fines imposed each time by the French troops on their return. Your Majesty may imagine the position of a French company in a small isolated garrison, or a

weak column on the march, for the bands are very good at arithmetic, and cunning in the extreme. If the company forming a garrison goes out at one gate in pursuit of the band, the latter comes in at the other, or else lays an ambush. On the other hand, if there is a strong garrison, the band takes to flight and goes off elsewhere, to a place where there is none. This has often made me think, if Your Majesty will excuse this serious dissertation, that the army ought to be divided into corps of occupation, which should garrison the essential points and lend a hand to one another in case of need, and expeditionary corps, whose duty it should be to be constantly on the move in every direction against the bands, quite apart from all the rest. This is being done to a certain extent, but not, I think, consistently enough, or on a large enough scale. The principle acted upon is that the bands are mere trifles, and must be allowed to join forces in order that they may be defeated all at once. This axiom does not seem to be well founded, for the knowledge that there are such strong bands in existence always produces a bad effect in Europe, and what is more, it exposes the districts infested by them to damage and demoralization for a longer time than should be necessary — while even successes won against them bring on the whole but little glory, for, after all, they are nothing but bands. It seems to me that what is necessary is to destroy the *cuadrillas* as soon as they are formed, and to pursue them at the point of the sword, for if they are only scattered, they form again and return as in the past. I believe that by displaying great activity and energy in this direction, without troubling about any European ideas of war, but solely about putting an end to brigandage, solid results would be achieved at small cost. It is true that there ought not to be a moment's pause, but this aim should be pursued with an iron perseverance. Anybody having the disposal of such a fine army who was prepared to use it conscientiously would pacify Mexico in less time than the ablest military leader who neglected to pay attention to it. If, whatever may be the issue of the negotiations with Rome, the party of the *cangrejos* (crabs) — as the Conservatives are called — is prepared to believe that it is not our fault if the sanction of the Church is not given and that it is because we have had the misfortune to deal with a Pope who will concede nothing, the religious question will be solved in such a way as to set men's consciences at rest as far as possible. But I fear that nobody will grasp the position taken up by the Holy Father, and that, should he refuse, we shall have still further unpleasantnesses, for all wounds are not yet

healed; Juarez still exists as a Government, he has even re-elected himself President recently *in sæcula sæculorum.*

In that case, a monstrous, though not unprecedented union of these two causes would be to be feared — though it would in any case be less dangerous than last winter, for that was the first effervescence which might have assumed unpleasant proportions. I have already told Your Majesty that the question is regarded here as settled, or even forgotten; there could only be a recrudescence of it if the Pope were bent upon stirring up trouble for us, so as to be able to give his blessing to his pious son Juarez in the presidential chair — which would certainly be no more likely to recover the nationalized property for him.

Apropos of Rome, Your Majesty will be very glad to hear that the nuncio is going to celebrate high mass for us tomorrow. It will be the first time we have seen him since the rupture. On Holy Thursday the archbishop came from his palace on foot — for the use of carriages is forbidden — to wait upon the Emperor and thank him for his Grand Cross. I told him that we did not mean to forget him on the anniversary of the Empire, towards which *all* had contributed.

To my mind, it was the only date upon which he could have been given anything, by reviving very old memories, for an order given on any other day would have been too great a distinction. Yesterday, Good Friday, we took an outing in the city to visit two hospitals. In a moment the *plaza* was thronged with people, greeting us with the friendliest faces. There was no cheering, for it is customary here only on the arrival of new authorities, but expressions of joy at seeing us. The Emperor wore a frock-coat and I was in a black silk dress and mantilla.

We next entered the cathedral and knelt before the tomb. We returned to the palace through a dense and pleased crowd.

In one of your last letters Your Majesty expressed regret at seeing the Mexican army disbanded and feared that this might increase the guerrilla bands. May I be allowed to remind you that the only internal danger which we might create for ourselves would be precisely this army.

If we had thought of this earlier, we should have saved a great deal of money. It is absolutely impossible to maintain an army consisting of the very elements which made all the revolutions.

In time we may perhaps be able to organize Indian regiments with foreign officers. With the exception of what we have retained,

the troops in existence were of poor quality, and even if they did go to swell the bands, this would at any rate be far less harmful than *pronunciamientos* made by people in our own pay, which would look like a political revolt.

I have just read with great interest M. Duruy's report on elementary education, and will have it translated so that our Minister of Public Instruction may read it.

Your Majesty will quite understand how much we desire to be acquainted with the life of Cæsar, I had not mentioned it before. Hoping that we may not be forgotten when the copies of this remarkable work come to be distributed, I beg Your Majesty always to rest assured of the feelings of sincere affection and esteem with which I am

Your Majesty's most devoted sister and friend,

Charlotte.

See page 490

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III TO THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. ORIGINAL.
APRIL 16, 1865

Sir my brother,

I hope that Your Majesty will permit me to make certain observations of a rather serious nature in writing to you today. I hope that you will see from the advice which I venture to give you what an interest I take in your success and the consolidation of your power.

I will begin by repeating to Your Majesty that the financial question takes precedence of all others, and is deserving of your undivided attention. The new loan has just been floated in Paris, and Your Majesty will have a hundred and ten millions at your disposal, including the ten millions from the bank. But this sum must be laid out with the greatest economy, for it will not be possible to raise any more loans for Mexico in Europe for a long time. The resources of the country must therefore be carefully developed and husbanded. Now, the main revenues of Mexico today are drawn from the customs; I therefore learn with deep regret that the organization created for the control of the customs, which had begun to produce a regular revenue, has been changed. If the French agents are no longer in a position to exercise strict control over the branches of the revenue department, the Treasury will be robbed as it has been in the past.

On the contrary, what was needed was the application on the Pacific coast of the system which M. Rolland was authorized to introduce on the Gulf of Mexico. By this means Your Majesty would have obtained a considerable increase in your resources. Knowing Your Majesty's benevolent intentions, and relying upon your judgment, I cannot understand by what fatality it always happens that the most essential measures are always adjourned or opposed. Mexico owes her independence and her present regime to France, but it looks as though some mysterious influence constantly stepped in to prevent the French agents from devoting themselves to the good of the country, and even our just claims do not always meet with a hearing. The commission charged with inquiring into the compensation due to our nationals is working so slowly that they are in despair, and with an ill will to which the English have not been subjected.

Lastly, I must draw Your Majesty's attention to the matter of the property of the clergy. The measures adopted are causing an indefinite postponement of a solution which is urgent for all concerned; meanwhile the properties are laid under an interdict, for by the terms of article 18 no rights can be exercised until it has been duly placed on record that the operations upon which these rights are based have come up for revision. This question should have been settled with the promptitude due to its delicate nature and its important bearing upon both moral and material interests.

Fould, the Minister of Finance, informs me that M. Bonnefond has not consented to become Your Majesty's minister. I think he is perfectly right; give him your confidence and call him into counsel, but leave him his independence, and you will find him all the more useful.

The interest which I take in Your Majesty makes me ready to risk displeasing you by telling you all that is in my mind, but the questions at issue are so grave that I am bound to go into them thoroughly, and the prosperity of Mexico is so bound up with that of France that I have it all the more closely at heart.

General Lorencez has been to beg me to ask Your Majesty for his order.

He said that he was humiliated at seeing generals who had served under him in possession of this mark of distinction while he himself was without it. The general was certainly unfortunate before Puebla, but he maintained his position firmly at Orizaba for several months. I therefore think it would be just to grant him this favour.

I beg Your Majesty to remember me to the Empress and to be assured of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's good brother,

Napoleon.

Tuileries, April 16, 1865

See page 501

THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE TO THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE, APRIL 27, 1865

Mexico, April 27, 1865

Madam and very dear sister,

I am sending Your Majesty a dispatch which has arrived from the north today and describes the situation in that quarter as rather critical. I wish General Douay were already on his way.

The Emperor is meeting with a perfect reception everywhere, with the greatest enthusiasm. He has passed through Tlascala and Apam and ought soon to reach Orizaba. The events at Richmond have produced a certain impression here upon those who took no part in the creation of the Empire, and would perhaps not be sorry to revive the Republic by the aid of the United States.

Everybody is quoting a saying of Doblado, who is now in New York, to the effect that since General Almonte had brought about the intervention of France, he did not see why he might not do the same himself with regard to America. People here are used to a change every six months, if not in the man at the head of the government — for they adapt themselves to different systems — at any rate, in the form of government; so some people are already tired of us, and there is a certain apathy in the capital. In the country districts this is fortunately not the case, but it is this so-called "white" minority — the black-coated class which leaves the colleges with the degree of licentiate only to write for the papers and appeal indiscriminately to Greek and Roman history — that has always been the source of all social convulsions. For a while it appeared to be fascinated by the Emperor's influence, but since man's passions are never at rest, it will soon discover that we are not close enough adherents of those Utopian schemes which have ruined everybody here and which are like a vicious circle into which every Government has been drawn. However, I believe that this second attack of uneasiness and unrest

which we are going through now is a salutary crisis, like that of last winter.

The party of the clergy fell with the loss of its property; it is dead and buried; except for the regrets of those interested, nobody troubles any further about it save from the historical point of view. Now it is the turn of the fanatical Liberals; in other words, of demagogy and "Juarismo," the most hideous form of demagogy, since it aims at nothing less than the destruction of Mexican nationality. This party is singing its swan-song and blazing up, I believe for the last time; that is why it is struggling against its fate.

When, thanks to our military victories and the forces of law, order, and justice, it succumbs before us, its adversaries, it will sink into the grave, and the future will lie with the Indians and half-castes, that hard-working race, that middle class which has always been lacking and could alone form a nation which might absorb immigrants.

In my opinion this is the meaning of what is going on. It now only remains for me to beg Your Majesty to accept the expression of these feelings of entire esteem and deep affection with which I am

Your Majesty's good sister and friend,

Charlotte.

The announcement has just arrived by telegraph that President Lincoln, his son, and Mr. Seward have been assassinated. I believe this will lead to MacClellan's [*sic*] becoming President and to some kind of settlement with the South.

See page 501

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. ORIZABA, APRIL 30, 1865

Sir my brother,

The internal condition of the country is gradually improving, and during the tour which I am at present making I am happy to find at every step I take real proofs that progress has been made. The people and the lower clergy in particular receive me with an enthusiasm which delights me. But the events taking place on the northern frontier and those which have suddenly occurred in the United States are becoming so serious that I think it is now indispensable that my people should be officially apprised of the support

from the European powers upon which I am reckoning; on this condition alone do I feel that I can bring to a happy issue the great but difficult task which I undertook at Your Majesty's inspiration. I am instructing my counsellor Eloin, in whom I have every confidence, to give Your Majesty by word of mouth all the information which cannot find a place in this letter, and I hope he will soon return to me after completing the financial business for the settlement of which I am giving him full powers, and obtaining by Your Majesty's benevolent intervention an alliance of the different powers which seem to me to have a special interest in combining to oppose the ideas of invasion which are springing up in the United States.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew once more to Your Majesty the assurance of those feelings of high esteem and heart-felt friendship with which I am Your Majesty's good brother and friend,

Maximilian.

Orizaba, April 30, 1865

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE, APRIL 30, 1865

April 30, 1865

Madam and very dear sister,

I have time only to write a few lines to Your Majesty, for the post leaves us very little time. The Emperor left for Algeria yesterday; I accompanied him as far as Fontainebleau and on my return this evening I received Your Majesty's letters.

Hidalgo has no doubt sent you all the debates in the Corps Législatif. M. Corta produced an excellent effect, and the arrival of General Douai [*sic*], which coincided with the debates, was also very helpful. I saw the nuncio the other day and he introduced the subject of the clergy in Mexico — I spare Your Majesty all his complaints, which are familiar to you — and I replied that the situation in Mexico was the same as that which Napoleon had found in France. The Revolution had made a clean sweep of everything, and the concordat had provided for compensation without, however, undoing what had taken place, which is as impossible in Mexico as in France; consequently it was logically impossible not to come to an understanding with the Emperor Maximilian, upon which the nuncio said that the question had not presented itself in that way, and that,

thanks to the Emperor's decree, it was by his *act* that the Church had been despoiled. I had no difficulty in proving to him that the Emperor had done no more than uphold laws previously in force. I tell Your Majesty this, for it was an argument which appeared to produce some effect upon him.

The assassination of Lincoln has created a great sensation in Europe; some accuse the South; it seems to me, however, more probable that it is the radicals in the North who considered the President too moderate. Only a few days before, M. Bigelov [*sic*], the United States Minister, had given us the best assurances on behalf of his Government! To my great regret I am forced to take leave of Your Majesty, begging you to remember me to the Emperor. Pray be assured of the feelings with which I am

Your Majesty's most devoted sister and friend,

Eugénie.

The death of the heir to the throne of Russia has grieved us very much.

See page 495

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. COPY. MAY 26, 1865

Sir my brother,

I have received with the keenest pleasure the kind and friendly letter which Your Majesty was so good as to write me on April 16, with its advice of a true friend, which I always accept as proof of your benevolent sentiments, advice which is necessary to me and which gives me strength for my hard and troublesome task.

Your Majesty will, however, permit me in all sincerity to make a few comments, arising out of local conditions, upon certain of your remarks.

In alluding to the last loan — yet another immense service which we owe to France — you draw my special attention to the financial question. Indeed, nobody gives such thought to this point as I do, for it is vital to my poor country; but it is only right that Your Majesty should know how the efforts which I make are thwarted.

Last autumn, a few months after my arrival, I drew up a budget which fortunately resulted in a surplus, instead of a permanent

deficit. Marshal Bazaine was present at the council and approved all the measures; well, a month later he was giving orders in a contradictory sense on all military matters, plunging us into still further ruinous expenditure. The Oaxaca campaign alone cost two million piastres; and there are soldiers who allege that General Brincourt could have taken the city last August with a thousand men.

I then recalled the words of our excellent Corta, who said to me one day: "Bazaine is the greatest spender in our army." So chaos reigned once more, and it required a very skilful hand to reduce the whole business to order. With trustful and impatient anticipation we awaited the Messiah promised by M. Corta, and at last M. Bonnefonds [*sic*] arrived. In perfect confidence we offered him absolute and complete control, with all rights and powers! He would not accept, he desired to create himself an entirely novel position by setting up as comptroller, and, when all is said and done, he has accomplished nothing. For some months I have been waiting patiently for the proposals which he is to make, especially with regard to the customs, and I have left him a *free hand* in everything. I think M. Bonnefonds has rather lost heart and energy, and that for two reasons: he has had a near view of the military expenditure, and he has been bound to recognize that the country and its inhabitants are quite different from what they are imagined to be in Europe. Your Majesty alludes in your letter to mysterious influences working against France. I can assure you that such influences do not and cannot exist in my entourage. You have no truer friend than the Emperor of Mexico, and the country will follow its sovereign's example in never forgetting the heart-felt gratitude due to France and her illustrious Emperor, who has saved it from ruin and restored it to a place among the nations. If there has been any talk in Paris about intrigues, I hope that M. Dano's dispatches and the personal testimony of M. Eloin, the head of my civil cabinet, who is at present with you, will give you the key to them; namely, the fact that "The origin of these rumours must be sought in Rome and Vienna."

We have tried on all occasions to show our full gratitude to France, and lately Mexico has once more made an exception in favour of those French subjects who have still to demand compensation from the Government, and granted them interest at six per cent, a thing never done in this country before. I need not mention the fact that we have just presented the finest palace in Mexico to the marshal on the occasion of his marriage, or the attentions which we feel it to be our duty to show to all those who bear the name of Frenchman.

Your Majesty also mentions the decree dealing with the property of the clergy. I do not deny that it has given offence in many quarters; but I believe that its merit consists in the very fact that the two extreme parties were dissatisfied with it. In such a delicate and difficult question the only possible course of action seemed to me to be the strictest legality, without any rash partisanship. Many of the contracts are so horribly fraudulent that it is impossible to get to the bottom of them without the most careful discrimination.

It is quite two months since I gave orders to the chancery to send General Lorencez the Grand Cross of the order of Guadalupe. I will make inquiries at once as to whether this order has been carried out, or whether the apathy which unfortunately still reigns in these regions to a certain extent has led to this regrettable delay.

I beg Your Majesty to remember me to the Empress, and to be assured of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's good brother,

Maximilian.

Jalapa, May 26, 1865

See page 516

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE. MAY 31, 1865

Tuileries, May 31, 1865

Madam and very dear sister,

I have sent on to the Emperor in Algeria the letter from the Emperor Maximilian handed to me by M. Eloin.

The news from America reached us at the same time; I can understand what an impression the events taking place in the North must produce upon Your Majesty. Here too they have created quite a strong sensation among the public, and yet, at the risk of appearing too optimistic, I confess that it has not surprised me that the Dissidents in Mexico have recovered their courage on the close of the war in the United States. Our ministers tell me that they take the same view.

Before the Emperor's departure I received orders to keep up the effective strength of our troops in Mexico. We shall therefore replace the time-expired men as required.

In present circumstances there is no occasion to increase the army

of occupation; it is impossible to occupy the whole of Mexico, and there are sufficient troops to keep part of the country quiet and safeguard the honour of our flag. Moreover, I repeat to Your Majesty that the marshal is a man whose energy cannot be questioned and whose prudence can be relied upon to take no rash steps.

I have asked M. Eloin a number of questions on the roads and the means of attracting immigration from the South without giving offence to the North; I rely upon him to inform Your Majesty of our conversation.

General Douai [*sic*] is on the point of arriving, if he has not already arrived; I am pleased that you are so desirous of his return.

I beg Your Majesty to remember me to the Emperor and to be assured of the feelings with which I am

Your Majesty's most affectionate sister,

Eugénie.

See page 515

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III TO THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. JUNE 15, 1865. ORIGINAL (ONLY THE SIGNATURE AND THE LAST NINE WORDS IN THE EMPEROR'S HANDWRITING)

Sir my brother,

Your majesty has been so good as to associate me with the order of the Mexican Eagle which you have just founded, by sending me the collar and Grand Cross of the order.

I am deeply touched by the feelings of sincere and constant affection displayed towards me by Your Majesty on this occasion, and I am happy to tell you that, for my part, I shall welcome every opportunity of giving proofs of the peculiar interest which I take in everything which may concern you. I offer you my sincere wishes for your personal happiness, the prosperity of your reign, and the glory of Mexico, and I have pleasure in renewing my assurances of the high esteem and inviolable friendship with which I am, Sir my brother,

Your Majesty's good brother,

Napoleon.

Paris, June 15, 1865

See page 515

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III TO THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. JUNE 15, 1865. ORIGINAL (SIGNATURE AND LAST NINE WORDS IN THE EMPEROR'S HANDWRITING)

Sir my brother,

M. José Hidalgo, your minister in Paris, has handed me the insignia of your order of the Mexican Eagle intended for my very dear and well-beloved son the Prince Imperial, together with the letter written me by Your Majesty in giving me this striking evidence of your unfailing friendship for my family. It is very pleasant to me to express to Your Majesty how touched I am by this fresh proof of your esteem and how much I have it at heart to draw closer the bonds uniting our crowns and peoples. It is with these sentiments that I am happy to renew to Your Majesty the assurances of the high esteem and inviolable friendship with which I am, Sir my brother,

Your Majesty's good brother,

Napoleon.

Paris, June 15, 1865

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE. UNDATED. 1865

Madam and very dear sister,

I have nothing of interest to tell Your Majesty by today's mail, for the debates in the Chamber will be sent you by Monsieur Hidalgo. The news from America is good and the sensation is beginning to subside. The Emperor has been back only a few days, I doubt whether he will be able to write to the Emperor Maximilian.

Monsieur Eloin has left for Vienna. I saw him only for a moment, but he is to return in a few days. The news of the death of Monsieur de Chazal and more recently of Colonel Tourre has grieved us very much, unfortunately nothing can be established without causing some suffering to poor mothers' hearts.

They say that Madame de Chazal has been very brave and resigned.

I beg Your Majesty to remember me to the Emperor, and to be assured of the feelings of true friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's most affectionate sister,

Eugénie.

The Emperor desires me to give his compliments to you and the Emperor Maximilian.

See page 525

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE. JULY 15, 1865

Tuileries, July 15, 1865

Madam and very dear sister,

The good news which we are receiving from Mexico gives us great pleasure, for though on the one hand we were under no illusion as to the difficulties, on the other hand we were confident of success. The United States send us assurances of their desire to maintain *neutrality;* that is not enough perhaps, but we must wait; it is already a great deal in politics to find a Government which puts a curb on the impatience and passions of the crowd, without weakness; the rest will come later.

Your Majesty is so frank with me that I cannot do better than be equally so. I should therefore like to say to Your Majesty that the Mexican medal is, and is bound to be, a precious remembrance for our soldiers, but it would create a difficult situation in France; once the men had returned to their homes, it would be difficult to keep control of them, and if they wore the ribbon only, there might be some confusion with the cross of the Legion of Honour. In Mexico the same disadvantage does not arise, but Your Majesty will understand that it would do so in France in spite of the decree which forbids the medal and the ribbon to be separated; force of circumstances would cause this to happen, for there is the same rule about the medal here, and yet even the marshals break the regulation. It is therefore with the deepest regret that I find myself obliged to tell Your Majesty about it frankly; it seems to me that means might be found of getting round the difficulty; everything in this world is a question of *shades* (*nuance*). Do you not believe that, though the Emperor might keep the colour, which has doubtless already been announced, he could, as I said just now, modify the shade to some extent, so that there should be no mistake in this country? I hope

that Your Majesty will see nothing in my proposal but my desire to enable our soldiers to have the pleasure of receiving this mark of distinction, while preventing any unpleasantness in France.

Your Majesty seems in your letter — or so at least I *understood* it — to desire that General Douai [*sic*] should have a higher command; he is doubtless a very good general, but Your Majesty may be assured that the marshal is our best soldier. He has the further merit in my eyes of never having been discouraged for a single moment; he has confidence in the existing situation, and his return would, moreover, have the disadvantage of making people believe that our interest is falling off, supposing that a soldier of lower rank was placed in command.

I am afraid that some purely *formal* negligence may have occurred to give Your Majesty a bad opinion of him; if Your Majesty could read the correspondence, you would see how right-minded and firm are his judgments and how he keeps a cool head where many another would feel discouraged. Men are far from perfect, it is often enough if the proportion of good in them outweighs their faults; I therefore claim Your Majesty's indulgence for those of the marshal, I am convinced that if you judge him with your own sound sense, apart from those influences which are perhaps hostile to him, you will soon revise your opinion. This does not prevent us from deeply deploring all causes which may give rise to the slightest difficulty, which it is to the interest of all to avoid.

I am sending Your Majesty Marshal Bazaine's letter to the Emperor in order that you may form your own opinion of their correspondence. I need not say that it is absolutely confidential, and I will even beg you to return it after acquainting yourself with its contents.

I hope Your Majesty will excuse the many erasures in my letter, I have written it in rather a hurry.

I beg you to remember me to the Emperor, and to be assured of the feelings with which I am

Your Majesty's most devoted sister and friend,

Eugénie.

The Emperor, who has this moment come in, begs me not to omit his remembrances to Your Majesties. I am also sending Your Majesty the marshal's letter to the Minister for War in order that you may also see what scruples the marshal felt about the medal; I prefer to show you things in this way.

See page 527

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO NAPOLEON III. JULY 27, 1865. (FROM OLLIVIER, VII. 523)

I described the situation very frankly to Douay and Dano; I told them and proved to them that both administrative business and political affairs are making good progress; I could not say the same about military and financial affairs. They were bound to agree with me that too many troops have been sent home and that the war has swallowed up too much money. Those two points are the plague of Mexico; all other difficulties will be smoothed away with time and patience. On several occasions I have preached to the marshal that he must not hurry on the return of the troops, but must abide by the figures fixed in your treaty, but alas! it was of no use. Bazaine is animated by a feverish desire to please public opinion, he forgets everything and thinks only of the near future (*fait un prochain avenir*). I have told him a hundred times to economize, proving to him by the figures that our deficit, instead of decreasing, was constantly on the increase, and that the army and the luckless auxiliary troops accounted for three-quarters of our expenditure. It is unfortunately clear that our first mistake lay in not keeping control of and paying all the troops and native bands; this would have supplied deficiencies and prevented their disbandment, which did not take place under the supervision of a considerable foreign army, from increasing the numbers of the *guerrilleros* to a dangerous extent. Every time we begin to try to work seriously at the organization of good native troops, the marshal declares that the *matériel* is absolutely necessary for his own campaign and that he cannot send anybody to the centres of organization. In addition to the expenditure which we are bound to incur under the treaty of Miramar, and the obligation of maintaining this mass of auxiliary troops, we have had for the last year to pay for great military expeditions due to the lack of good troops and to the necessity of moving the poor French troops up and down this vast country in every direction. You will remember that when I had the happiness of seeing Your Majesty in Paris, the military news from Mexico seemed so encouraging that you were able to hold out the hope that the whole of the loan contracted might be employed upon internal improvements. Well, the results have not come up to our expectations; all the money placed at our disposal

by the loan has been swallowed up by the military operations. Now it has been necessary to raise a fresh loan on very unfavourable terms. The small sum left to us will again be swallowed up by the war, all the more since the military situation is worse than last year. As I have said, the plague of Mexico at present is the lack of troops and money. I am quite confident that all this will be remedied, by the effective aid of our noble allies, who will not leave unfinished the great work which they have begun. Internal affairs are making good progress; I was much pleased with my last tour and especially with the touching and enthusiastic reception spontaneously accorded to me on my return to the capital. We are progressing, we are even making good progress; we could progress much more quickly, but the means are still lacking. I told Your Majesty some time ago that I should find myself in the predicament of Diogenes; well, I have seen this presentiment realized. There are three categories of men in Mexico, and there is scarcely any enlightenment to be found among them. The old men are obstinate, and rotten to the core; the young men have learnt nothing; the foreigners are almost all of them mediocrities, or else adventurers without any future in Europe. All this does not make me lose heart; with Your Majesty's aid I shall go on with my work calmly and confidently; the future will be my reward.

See pages 507 and 524

THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE TO THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE. JULY 26, 1865

Mexico, July 26, 1865

Madam and very dear sister,

I received Your Majesty's kind letter by the last packet with great pleasure. You know that the shortest route now is by way of America, since the new line from Vera Cruz to New York is open.

I am most happy to know that the Emperor has returned to Your Majesty and is pleased with his voyage, and I beg you to offer him my sincerest compliments in return for his kind remembrances.

The Emperor — our Emperor — is a little indisposed, but it is nothing very serious; I am afraid he may exhaust himself by this labour of Sisyphus, always rolling a rock uphill, only to see it fall back again. I venture to tell Your Majesty in confidence that the military situation in particular has affected him greatly. Things are

not going as we should like, and as they easily might. If one does not go forward, one goes backward. On the other hand, Your Majesty will be pleased to hear of the brilliant victory of the Belgian Legion, which has acted as a balm to its previous wound at Tacambara. The French army, and in particular the 81st regiment of the line, which had taken part in the operations in Michoacan, showed a friendly spirit towards me on this occasion, by which I was greatly touched. Whatever people may say and do, all the troops, of whatsoever nationality, engaged in the work inaugurated by Your Majesties in Mexico, are perfectly united in moments of danger or good fortune. General L'Hériller [*sic*] is leaving for France on August 15; I think his conversation will interest Your Majesties; we have resigned ourselves to the idea of losing him only in the hope of having him back again a little later, like General Douay. The latter has started for the interior, but fears he will not be able to do much there; we took leave of him with heavy hearts, and he of us. He is a very remarkable man, a soldier, statesman, and administrator, and the Emperor and he produce an electrical effect upon each other and are like a pair of friends, almost of brothers.

Our good marshal's married life is going on well. He and the *maréchale* go out riding together and I met them this morning.

We are waiting with some impatience for M. Eloin's return and the news of Your Majesties which he will not fail to give us. The effervescence in America has entirely subsided and Doblado's death is a further security for peace.

The Emperor presents his homage to Your Majesty, and I beg you once again to be assured of the very sincere friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's most affectionate sister and friend,

Charlotte.

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE. JULY 31, 1865

Fontainebleau, July 31

Madam and very dear sister,

The Emperor sends me this letter from Admiral de Chalannes to Monsieur Maury, one of the Americans who were most prominent in

the recent war, so that Your Majesty and the Emperor may acquaint yourself with its contents. It is very interesting, and seems to us feasible in many respects; the only disadvantage might arise from alarming the susceptibilities of the North, if it were done too ostentatiously with the object of favouring the malcontents of the South. I hope Your Majesty will tell me what you think about it. Monsieur Maury is in Mexico City at present and would be well able to lay these ideas before you in detail. If your Majesty were willing to see him.

There is nothing new here which would interest you, politics are at a standstill at this season, and we badly need it after the controversies and fatigues of the winter.

I am at Fontainebleau, where I think of staying till it is time to go to Biarritz.

The Queen of Spain is thinking of going to Zarauz for the sea-bathing; the two places are so near to each other that it will doubtless lead to a visit; in any case this will have no political significance, it will merely be a visit of courtesy on the part of the Emperor, for the Queen invited him to come to Madrid on the occasion of his journey to Algeria. Since he was unable to prolong his journey, he was obliged to give up the idea; this time chance will bring about an interview. I thank Your Majesty and the Emperor for your kindness to the marshal on the occasion of his marriage; he is very touched and grateful.

I beg that Your Majesty will not fail to remember me to the Emperor, and will be assured of the feelings with which I am

Your Majesty's most devoted sister,

Eugénie.

See page 526

THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE TO THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE. AUGUST 23, 1865

Mexico, August 23, 1865

Madam and well-beloved sister,

I am returning to Your Majesty the marshal's two letters which you were so good as to send me, and thank you a thousand times for your own. The affair of the red ribbons is settled; the Emperor, acceding to the wish expressed by Your Majesty, has decided that the

French army should receive another shade, which we are just having dyed and which will, I think, satisfy everybody. I am much touched at Your Majesty's having answered my letter with a frankness equal to my own; that is the true touchstone of friendship. We have just celebrated August 15 at Chapultepec like a family event with the French army, as Your Majesty will see from the enclosed article, and I beg you to repeat to the Emperor the sincere wishes which we uttered on drinking his health on that day.

The Emperor Maximilian started this morning for Pachuca and Real del Monte. It will be only a short journey of a few days. Before he left yesterday, the marshal and his wife dined with us. The latter is a little Spanish beauty in miniature, her manners have the most perfect ease and grace. The marshal is very happy. I beg Your Majesty to believe that there has never been the slightest fault in his conduct towards us, either in form or in essentials. If I had a great deal to say to Your Majesty about General Douay, it is because I believe him to be very active, perhaps rather more active, but it was in no way my intention to disparage the marshal, who, so long as he possesses the confidence of the Emperor Napoleon will possess ours too, as well as our entire affection and respect, which have, indeed, never failed him, as he has always been pleased to admit.

Nor have we ever had any difficulty in treating him as a friend, for we are fond of him in that way and should continue to be fond of him even if we were not constantly meeting. We never fail to think of any attention, small or great, which may give him pleasure, and I do not want to mention our wedding presents, for it is indelicate to talk about what one does oneself, but Your Majesty knows that both the Emperor's and my presents to the *maréchale* were not unworthy of the gratitude felt by Mexico to the commander-in-chief of the French troops.

If I have entered into all these details, written on the spur of the moment, it is so as to remove from Your Majesty's mind all the doubts which you expressed in your letter to me as to our opinion with regard to the marshal; I say "our" because my feelings will always be one with the Emperor's.

I am sending Your Majesty the review of the fortnight's events, which, if Your Majesty would care to know a little confidential detail, was translated by me. Your Majesty will find in it the most important events which have recently taken place.

In his absence the Emperor desires me to allot the work to his civil

and military cabinets, and as I have just received three enormous packets, Your Majesty will allow me to take leave of you, signing myself as always,

Your most devoted sister and friend,

Charlotte.

See page 541

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III TO THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. ORIGINAL. AUGUST 29, 1865

Sir my brother,

I am sending you M. Langlais, a member of the Council of State, a man of the highest probity and the truest worth. He is a pearl with which I hope Your Majesty will be able to adorn your diadem. But it is absolutely necessary that definitive decisions should be arrived at in Mexico. The finances ought to engage Your Majesty's attention; it is necessary that the Mexican army, including the foreign contingents, should not exceed 25,000 men, and that these 25,000 men should not cost more than 25,000,000 francs. It is necessary that this Mexican army should be increased only in proportion as the French army is reduced. It is necessary to draw upon the resources offered by the property of the clergy, to introduce honesty into the administration, and to admit to your counsels none but men devoted to the policy of French intervention.

Lastly, I beg Your Majesty to settle everything relating to French interests as soon as possible, since the original motive of the war was the assertion of the rights of our nationals.

I hope that America will not trouble the new Empire of Mexico; in any case I shall firmly uphold the rights of intervention, but whatever may happen in this respect, it is necessary, on the other hand, that Your Majesty's Government should cause us no embarrassments when France is making so many sacrifices for its support.

I beg Your Majesty to take these remarks in good part, and to be assured of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's good brother,

Napoleon.

Fontainebleau, August 29, 1865

See page 555

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III TO THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. ORIGINAL. SEPTEMBER 14, 1865

Sir my brother,

I am availing myself of the departure of Commandant de Jumel to communicate to Your Majesty an idea which should in my opinion be fruitful of good results. I leave it to my Minister for Foreign Affairs to inform Your Majesty's Government of our claims; all I wish to do today is to lay before you what an advantage it would be to everybody if Your Majesty were to use your Austrian troops for the organization of a proper army. If this were done, I could withdraw the greater part of our troops, which would remove all pretext for America's complaints. This would make the war in Mexico less unpopular in France, and, finally, it would give your Government an appearance of stability which would contribute towards establishing confidence in the future. I beg Your Majesty to make this question your principal care, for I see in this scheme the best chance for the consolidation of your throne.

I renew to Your Majesty my assurances of the feelings of high esteem and friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's good brother,

Napoleon.

Commandant de Jumel has for a long time been one of my orderly officers.

Biarritz, September 14, 1865

See page 578

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE. SEPTEMBER 28, 1865

Madam and very dear sister,

Your Majesty will have heard from Monsieur Hidalgo of our visit to Switzerland and the accident which detained me at Neuchâtel; it was on my return to Paris that I found Your Majesty's letter.

By the time you receive my letter, M. Langlais will already have had the honour of being presented to you; he is a very distinguished man, who will be able to administer the finances, *as Your Majesties*

have *several times asked* us; I hope that when you have talked to him, you will be satisfied with his knowledge and *shrewdness,* a quality which is perhaps not without its uses in dealing with great difficulties. Monsieur Langlais has seen the King of the Belgians, who promised him a letter for Your Majesties; the Emperor also desires me to tell the Emperor Maximilian whether he is able to ratify the concession for the bank for M. Pihard, governor of the Caisse d'Escompte, instead of M. Hottinguer and others who have availed themselves of the clause in the deed enabling them to withdraw from the enterprise. The institution controlled by M. Pihard, who has the support of a group of capitalists, is a strong one, well able to put the bank on a sound basis and efface the effect which might be produced on people's minds by the retirement of the first concessionnaires; the statutes are the same, and the new conditions are similar to the old ones. These particulars will probably reach the Emperor by this same mail, his financial agents here are sure to send him them.

The news from the United States is fairly good; a short time ago they sent us a note which was almost *discourteous,* basing imaginary grievances on some letters from Dr. Gwin which had been intercepted, but M. Droiyn de l'huis [*sic*] replied, in firm and proper terms, that diplomacy had never based complaints upon unsubstantiated facts; we have just received the answer, which could not be more satisfactory, but it is very necessary not to give rise to any complications in that quarter.

I have nothing more to say to Your Majesty; I beg you to remember me to the Emperor and to be assured of the feelings with which I am

Your Majesty's most devoted sister and friend,

Eugénie.

September 28, 1865

See page 542

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. DRAFT INITIALLED BY THE EMPEROR. OCTOBER 29, 1865

Sir my brother,

It is with intense pleasure and a feeling of real gratitude that I have just received from the hands of M. Langlais Your Majesty's kind letter of August 29.

I always prize most highly the good advice, which is that of a sincere friend, given me by Your Majesty with that remarkable lucidity which is characteristic of you; it comes from the greatest sovereign of our age, who is surely the best judge of such difficult questions as those which engage our attention in Mexico.

Since Your Majesty reposes confidence in M. Langlais, that worthy statesman may be sure of mine. His co-operation is more than necessary to me, since the greatest difficulty of my position is the almost entire absence of capable instruments.

As Minister of Finance, M. Langlais will have occasion to give an account of the present situation to Your Majesty; it is difficult, but not desperate. It is only the war which is devouring our resources, the other branches of the administration cost less than in any other country. Of all the expenditure on the war it is these wretched auxiliary troops, which the marshal considers absolutely necessary, which cost exorbitant sums and are, in my opinion, of very little use in the end. In the other branches of the administration an almost parsimonious system prevails. The changes carried out in my ministry will show you that what I am aiming at is perfect harmony, and honest and capable men.

M. Dano will have informed his minister that the business of the claims has been definitively settled on a basis dictated to us by the gratitude of Mexico to France.

M. Dano and the marshal will also have informed Your Majesty's Government of the great circumspection observed here in all those delicate questions which concern our neighbours.

Moreover, the news from Washington is reassuring and Your Majesty's sincere friendship gives me that steady confidence in the future which alone renders my difficult task possible.

During the last few days the whole of our work of political, administrative, and judicial organization, based on the statute of April 10, has been completed, and will appear about now in several volumes. I hope to be able to send this work to Your Majesty by the next French mail. I have given up my journey to Jucatan [*sic*], which the Empress will visit alone, so that I may set diligently to work with M. Langlais, who has already won the friendship of all.

The marshal will have sent you the drastic law which I have had to issue against the *guerrilleros;* the result of this law will be favourable. Had it not been for the lack of troops, we could long since have put an end to this scourge of the country.

I beg Your Majesty to remember me to the Empress and to be

assured of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am Your Majesty's good brother,

Maximilian.

Chapultepec, October 29, 1865

PS. *At the last moment.*

I have this moment heard that M. Langlais does not think he can accept the portfolio of the Finance Ministry before referring the matter direct to Your Majesty. The motives which he advances for declining at present the official control which I had entrusted to him seem to me of such a delicate nature that I think I ought to beg Your Majesty kindly to act as arbiter in the careful inquiry which is being made into the expenditure since I have been at the head of the Government. The reports which M. Langlais will send Your Majesty one after the other will prove that my request is well grounded.

See page 607

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE. NOVEMBER 30, 1865

Madam and very dear sister,

Our stay at Compiègne always leads to delays in our correspondence, and yet the departure of the post makes it impossible for me to wait; I say this to Your Majesty in case my letter does not happen to be an answer to the one which Your Majesty has perhaps written to me; the same does not apply to the Emperor, who has had the official correspondence sent him by express. We therefore have all the news from Mexico by this packet, and I hope Your Majesty will not think it amiss if I speak to you with all possible frankness; your goodness to me encourages me to do so as much as my own conscience.

Your Majesty knows better than anybody all that has happened since the return of Monsieur Corta and the departure of M. Bonnefond; at last, when, as a result of several pressing and categorical letters from Your Majesty, we decided to send M. Langlais and he had actually started, he was already on the way when we heard that the Emperor did not want a Frenchman at the Ministry of Finance, but wished to keep the sole control of this ministry in his own hands — apart from the steps taken here to persuade M. Langlais to go and

the false position in which he was bound to find himself on his arrival, there is nothing to be said about this decision. But in this connexion I cannot draw Your Majesty's attention too strongly to one point, for it concerns everybody — the alarming rapidity with which the proceeds of the loan are disappearing. The drafts upon it follow close upon one another regardless of the amount of money coming in, to such an extent that the commission is finding itself in difficulties and faced with the alternative either of refusing to honour the drafts or of remaining without cover by honouring them on the strength of funds possibly coming in which are not yet in sight. I need hardly tell Your Majesty what harm is done to the credit of the Mexican Government by this course of action, and how we suffer personally, for you know how interested we are in all that goes on there. Finance is the greatest guarantee for a country, its prosperity is in proportion to the security afforded by sound finance — and so it is to this question that I have always called Your Majesty's attention. We regretted it all the more because, while we see those resources disappearing which ought to enable you to live without appealing to credit, at least not yet, we see the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of having recourse to it, and we are asking ourselves on what you can be reckoning to get out of this difficulty, which is far greater, in my opinion, than the bands moving up and down a vast territory. I am obliged to close, owing to the departure of the post; in conclusion I hope Your Majesty will understand the feeling which prompts my action.

The Emperor desires me to remember him to you, and be assured, Madam, of the feelings with which I am

Your Majesty's most affectionate sister,

Eugénie.

Compiègne, November 30, 1865

See page 554

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. INITIALLED AND CORRECTED DRAFT. DECEMBER 8, 1865

Sir my brother,

The reputation which had preceded M. Langlais caused me to look forward eagerly to the arrival of that statesman; on seeing him at close quarters I was able to convince myself of how useful his ability and experience are bound to be to my Government, and so I cannot

thank Your Majesty too much for the choice which you have made on this occasion and for this fresh proof of friendship which you have given me.[1] Unfortunately M. Langlais has been rather seriously ill for the last month, and this unfortunate mischance will still deprive us of his valuable co-operation for a few days.

In order to enlighten Your Majesty as to the country's financial situation, I am sending you two reports on the subject. The first was drawn up by M. Castillo, now Minister for Foreign Affairs, who was in control of finance as secretary *de Hacienda* (to the Treasury), first under the regency, and afterwards during my Government, until the arrival of M. de Bonnefonds [*sic*]; the second is the work of M. César, the present secretary *de Hacienda.* I have had these reports submitted to M. Langlais, together with all documents bearing upon the question, in order that he may obtain all the necessary light upon the financial situation in recent times and at the present moment.

The laws, decrees, and regulations constituting the organization of the Empire are now collected together and form a code which is easy to consult. I am sending you the first five volumes, which will very soon be followed by two more, of which the binding is not yet finished. I beg you to regard these works as no more than a preliminary plan, and to examine them with indulgence; time and experience will doubtless lead me to introduce a number of improvements, but first of all I required a basis to furnish me with a point of departure in governing with decision and energy.

I beg Your Majesty to remember me to the Empress and to be assured of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am Your Majesty's good brother,

Maximilian.

Palace of Mexico, December 8, 1865

To His Majesty the Emperor of the French

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE. DECEMBER 14, 1865

Madam and very dear sister,

Today's mail will inform Your Majesty of the cruel loss which you have just experienced. Though it strikes sorrow to your heart, Your Majesty may at least draw some consolation from the unani-

[1] The draft first ran: "the fresh service"; corrected in the Emperor's hand.

mous regret inspired in Europe by the death of a sovereign who was so justly respected.

The Emperor and I feel an especial sympathy with you in your sorrow. I beg you to accept the assurance of our intense sympathy and to be assured of the feelings with which I am

Your Majesty's most devoted sister and friend,

Eugénie.

Compiègne, December 14 [1865]

See pages 495 and 556

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. CHAPULTEPEC, DECEMBER 27, 1865

Sir my brother,

I hear from Paris that Your Majesty desires the organization of the national troops to be carried out with all speed; on the other hand in your kind letter of September 14 from Biarritz, which M. Jumel de Noireterre has just handed me, you wrote that we ought to try to increase the Austrian troops, in order to be able to withdraw the French troops in a corresponding ratio, thus removing any pretext for complaint on the part of the Washington Government. These ideas seem to me as happy as all those which come from Your Majesty's high intelligence, but before taking this step, which starts us off on a new course, we ought, I think, frankly to face the present condition of the country, for illusions in politics have always been fatal. Your Majesty has not always been served in this country as you ought to have been; and as your best and most honest friend I am bound to speak freely to you on this matter. From the political point of view, special agents may have tried to introduce strict ideas on finance into Mexico, but they have never attempted to apply to its peculiar situation the heroic remedies of which it stands in need. We are now no longer dealing with a mere financier, there is a statesman behind him; I am therefore convinced that the measures which M. Langlais will propose, if strictly carried out, will have the best results for both our countries. In order to develop its resources and make them more easily available, in order, too, that these resources should not be partly swallowed up, it is necessary that the Empire should be pacified. I now come to the military point of view. We have 60,000 men under arms in Mexico, who have to subdue 16,000 Dissidents or *guerrilleros,* as you will see by the enclosed map, which is

absolutely accurate. This is a problem which it is urgent to solve without delay, for the war is causing the ruin of the Mexican Treasury by leading to an expenditure of sixty millions annually. The judicious comment of M. Jesús Terán, Juarez's representative in Europe, which I append to this letter, makes it quite evident that the struggle must at all costs be put an end to. One is tempted to believe that the formation of a national army is not easy, since the marshal, to whom its organization was entrusted by a decree signed two days after my arrival in the capital, has achieved no results. I have never been lacking in the goodwill necessary for attaining this important object; I asked for French generals, Brincourt and L'Hériller [*sic*], and afterwards for Colonel La Jaille, I asked for French officers to co-operate in this task; I could not obtain them, and in despair I was forced to have recourse to General de Thun, though my confidence in this scheme was strictly limited. On the other hand, the regiments, battalions, and batteries which have been in course of formation have been unable to complete their development, for the elements of which they were composed have been dispersed by sudden orders in different military operations. It is to these causes that we have to attribute the absence of a national army, which I desire more than anybody else. I have pointed out to Your Majesty all the dangers to my Government arising from the continuance of the civil war, and Your Majesty will be able to judge of this question from the map which I am sending you. I have laid stress upon the necessity for a speedy pacification in order to balance our finances, and with regard to this point M. Langlais has before his eyes instructive documents which are in no way damaging to the financial reputation of the Mexican Government. When the prevailing order of ideas has been of such a kind, how are we to explain the precipitate return of troops to Europe, in opposition to the will of the Emperor of the French and the treaties which we have signed, and that at a time when there were Dissidents only two hours from the capital? How are we to explain the system of sending troops to important points, only to withdraw them a week later, thereby sacrificing all those persons who had declared for the Empire; a fatal state of affairs which has occurred three times in succession at Monterey, on the frontier, in full view of the Yankees, and which nipped in the bud the good government which General Brincourt had caused to prevail at Chihuahua during the few days for which he occupied it? One might almost be led to suppose that the object was to prove to the Emperor the incapacity of the Mexican Government, and to draw

France into adopting measures of extreme severity on the pretext that government in Mexico is impossible. It has even been repeated to me that a comparison has been made between the protectorate of the Ionian Islands and the fate reserved for Mexico. Such a hypothesis could have no effect upon me, I am only too well aware that a protectorate of this nature would not be suitable either to you or to me, and would render the position of both of us untenable. I therefore only mention it for Your Majesty's information.

By the documents sent you by the last mail I proved that we might have had no deficit by January 1865 and that it is nothing but the military operations which have caused the deplorable state of our finances. If there are other measures which have been a burden on the budget and have not always been worthy of approbation, what is the source of the pressure which placed me under a moral obligation to come to an unfavourable arrangement with Jecker, an arrangement to which I made up my mind only because I believed, in all simplicity, that I was doing a real service to my best friend, the Emperor Napoleon?

I tell Your Majesty frankly, this situation is difficult for me; I add, as a good and faithful friend, that it is dangerous both for you and for me, for you because your glorious name suffers from it, for me because my intentions, which are, moreover, your own, cannot be carried out. With such military and financial methods as these, the great idea of the regeneration of Mexico will come to naught; without order and economy in the finances, with a constantly recurring deficit, I cannot govern. With a people whose confidence is constantly being shaken by a protection which is only transient, I can achieve nothing lasting, for everybody knows that on the return of the *guerrilleros* every individual who has declared for the Empire will be hanged or shot without mercy, and people therefore take good care not to show any sympathy for a government incapable of defending its subjects. To look at things from another point of view, it may also be feared that the justifiable reputation of the foreign troops may suffer some damage from these manœuvres, the usefulness of which is not sufficiently established. There is not a single question, down to the least important, in which I do not have to struggle against regrettable incidents. As regards the affair of the Iturbide family, the young prince's mother, a half-crazy American, was suddenly recalled to Mexico, which she had left quite contentedly, and the two uncles, a pair of drunkards, have been incited to go to Paris and Vienna to stir up trouble and make my government ridiculous. I was

fortunately able to judge this affair more sanely than that of Jecker; M. Dano and my family in Vienna have been warned in time of the Government's intentions, which have been justly estimated by them both.

However that may be, what reassures me for the future is that nothing could succeed in shaking that confidence, based on intimate friendship, which reigns between the two emperors. If it had ever been possible to conceive any such idea, I am convinced that my unreserved frankness would dissipate all doubts. By continuing in the same course, with the same plans and the same views, we shall triumph over all obstacles, and this unfortunate Mexican nation will more than ever bless the glorious name of Napoleon III.

Moreover, the visit of the Empress, alone and without escort, to Yucatan, where she has met with the friendliest and most cordial reception on the extreme borders of the Empire, shows how my Government has already taken root in the hearts even of those peoples who profit least by its activity. I am therefore firmly resolved to carry out all practicable improvements. If, on the one hand, the military situation engrosses my attention, on the other hand the financial condition of the Empire is equally the object of my solicitude. I have recognized the necessity of effecting considerable reductions in expenditure, and am determined upon them.

I shall also institute fresh taxation; regulations will be framed so that the sums collected from the taxpayers reach the Treasury more surely. If Your Majesty will consent to assist Mexico during the quite short period which will be necessary before these reforms produce their effect, I do not doubt that by the end of a few months my Government will be in a position to meet all its obligations. Moreover, M. Langlais is also of this opinion, and I have the greatest confidence in the soundness of his judgment.

There is yet another point upon which I ought to enlighten Your Majesty frankly, for inaccurate information may lead you into error and induce you to take a step which would be fatal.

For some time past the European press has been hinting that Your Majesty is contemplating a public announcement to the effect that in a very short time you will withdraw your troops on the basis of an arrangement alleged to be like that of the convention of September 15. I am bound to tell Your Majesty that such a declaration would undo in a day the work painfully accomplished by the efforts of three years, and that the announcement of such a measure, combined with the refusal of the United States to recognize my Government,

would be enough to cause the collapse of all respectable people's hopes and annihilate public confidence beyond recall. The enclosed letter from General Parrodi and Colonel Duran's note will leave no doubt in Your Majesty's mind as to this. Moreover, the honour of the French army would itself suffer serious damage in the eyes of the whole of America, for its precipitate withdrawal could not fail to be attributed to a very different motive. Time is an indispensable ally in the regeneration of a people which has gone through half a century of upheavals, and among which there are still sixteen thousand *guerrilleros* in arms, scattered over almost the whole surface of the country. The Mexican nation does not despair of the future, because it knows that Your Majesty has expressly declared that your troops shall not evacuate Mexico until their commander-in-chief has pacified the country and destroyed all resistance; to inform it of the contrary now would create the most intense alarm and lead to the most fatal consequences.

In order to reach complete harmony — the only means by which the situation can be cleared up — I have informed Your Majesty in this letter of my most secret judgments; I therefore beg you to meet frankness with frankness by informing me, as a true friend, of all the mistakes which I have made, and giving me your advice, of which I am always proud, since it comes from the most able man of our age, and from a friend whom I have loved since the very first day when I had the good fortune to make his acquaintance. For greater security I am sending you this long epistle by a very faithful friend, M. Loysel, who is, as Your Majesty knows, the head of my military cabinet. He is a man acquainted with all my intentions, who has followed all my doings since I have been in Mexico, who has been in actual contact with all the obstacles against which I have to struggle. I hope you will have the goodness to communicate to me through M. Loysel, who has soon to return, and with that frankness which is so dear to me, your judgments and good advice, and your ideas upon how to extricate ourselves from the very awkward situation in which we find ourselves. I am at the same time giving M. Loysel orders to look for capable instruments in Europe, a few minds like that of M. Langlais to help me in the heavy task of government, for it is men whom we lack above all in this unhappy country, brutalized for three centuries past and subject to convulsive upheavals for the last fifty years. One cannot form a government exclusively of Europeans in Mexico, for that would be letting revolution loose again, but pivots like M. Langlais can be introduced into its machinery, and

then the machine will begin to work with greater speed and regularity. But all its instruments will lead to nothing if the military machine is not tuned in harmony with it; they will become useless, as Budin, Corta, Bonnefonds [*sic*], etc., have done. I beg Your Majesty to remember me to the Empress, and to be assured of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's good brother,

Maximilian.

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE. NEW YEAR'S DAY, 1866

Madam and very dear sister,

The year which has just passed by will be marked with sorrow for Your Majesty; may that which is beginning bring with it consolation and alleviation of your grief! The Emperor and I unite in wishing prosperity to Your Majesties and your Empire.

I beg Your Majesty to be assured of the sentiments with which I am

Your Majesty's most devoted sister,

Eugénie.

See page 581

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III TO THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. ORIGINAL. JANUARY 15, 1866

Sir my brother,

It is not without painful emotion that I am writing to Your Majesty, for I am obliged to acquaint you with the decision at which I have been bound to arrive, in view of all the difficulties caused me by the Mexican question.

The impossibility of asking the Corps Législatif for fresh subsidies for the upkeep of the forces in Mexico, and the fact that Your Majesty is no longer able to contribute towards it yourself force me to

fix a definitive limit to the French occupation. In my opinion this should be as soon as possible.

However, I am sending you Baron Saillard, in order that he may first consult Marshal Bazaine and then come to an understanding with Your Majesty, so as to arrange the dates at which my troops will be successively withdrawn in such a way that this does not take place abruptly, or imperil the interests which we have it at heart to safe-guard.

Moreover, it is still understood that the Foreign Legion will remain in Your Majesty's service for a few years longer.

If, as I do not doubt, you display the necessary energy in these difficult conditions, if you create a sound organization for your national and foreign army, if, by effecting every possible economy, you find means of developing the resources of your Empire, I believe that your throne will be consolidated, for the departure of our troops may be a temporary weakness, but it will have the advantage of removing all pretext for intervention on the part of the United States.

I have had instructions sent to Marshal Bazaine and M. Langlais to assist Your Majesty with their advice and support.

I repeat that I should be distressed if Your Majesty's power could possibly be shaken by a measure which is imposed upon me by force of circumstances.

I beg Your Majesty to express to the Empress all the sympathy which I feel for her in the death of the King her father. His loss has aroused unanimous regret in Europe.

I repeat my assurances of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am Your Majesty's good brother,

Napoleon.

Paris, January 15, 1866

See page 582

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. COPY. FEBRUARY 18, 1866

Sir my brother,

I have received by the hand of M. Saillard Your Majesty's kind letter dated January 15, 1866 and I venture to answer it quite straightforwardly.

Your Majesty believes that sudden pressure makes it impossible for you to observe the solemn treaties which you signed with me less

than two years ago, and you inform me of this with a frankness which cannot but do you honour.

I am too much your friend to wish to be a cause of peril to Your Majesty or your dynasty, either directly or indirectly. I therefore propose to you with a cordiality equal to your own that you should immediately withdraw your troops from the American continent.

For my part, guided by my honour, I shall try to make arrangements with my fellow-countrymen in a straightforward manner worthy of a Habsburg, and I place my life and soul at the service of my new country's independence.

I am deeply grateful to Your Majesty for the tender sympathy which you were so good as to express to me on the occasion of the King my father-in-law's death, and I beg you to accept my assurance of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's good brother,

Maximilian.

Cuernavaca, February 18, 1866

To His Majesty the Emperor of the French

See page 588

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON. DRAFT. CHAPULTEPEC. APRIL 3, 1866

Sir my brother,

I announce to Your Majesty that I have recalled M. Hidalgo from your Court, owing to my displeasure at learning that he has not made my wishes sufficiently known to you, and I am sending you in his place an old and trusty friend, General Almonte, the best that Mexico can produce.

I have given him my instructions on the subject of the questions outstanding between us, which I hope to see settled to our mutual satisfaction, and I recommend him to Your Majesty's goodness, while desiring him to renew the expression of the feelings of high esteem and unchangeable friendship with which I am, Sir my brother,

Your Majesty's good brother,

Maximilian.

See pages 605 and 606

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON TO THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. ORIGINAL. APRIL 12, 1866

Sir my brother,

In the letter which Your Majesty wrote me on February 18 you accuse me of having been the first to break the engagements resulting from the treaty of Miramar and the secret articles. I am bound to remind Your Majesty that it is you who, in your communications of last December, declared that it was no longer in your power to observe the clauses of this treaty, and that you would henceforward be unable to pay the sum of twenty-five millions agreed upon for the purpose of defraying part of the maintenance of my troops in Mexico.

According to the secret articles, I was bound to maintain in Mexico 28,000 men in 1865, 25,000 in 1866, and 20,000 in 1867, including the Foreign Legion. After this period the Foreign Legion alone was to remain in Mexico. Now, in 1865 the French army consisted of 30,940 men, in 1866 it still stood at 29,302 men, and up to the end of 1867 it will consist of 10,000 French troops plus the Foreign Legion, with a strength of 5285 men; making a total of about 16,000 men. It therefore falls short of the agreed figure by only 4000 men, whereas there will be a deficit on Your Majesty's part of twenty-five millions. Far be it from me to wish to indulge in recriminations, and to ascribe to Your Majesty all the delays which have occurred to paralyse the zeal of the agents whom I have placed at your disposal. I understand the difficulties which must have assailed you on every side.

I therefore confine myself to telling you quite frankly that it is my most earnest desire, besides being to my interest, that the Mexican Empire should be maintained. I shall therefore do all in my power to help Your Majesty in the consolidation of your Government, which in my opinion ought for the moment to devote its whole attention to the organization of finance and the army. You have already seen by the instructions sent to Marshal Bazaine and M. Dano that my Government was ready to make itself responsible for the expenditure on the foreign corps employed in Your Majesty's service up to the end of 1867, provided they were placed under one and the same command.

I further consent to waive the twenty-five millions annually due from Mexico, and content myself for the time being with drawing the interest only. Your Majesty must understand with what difficulties I am also faced. The interest which we may have in creating a great empire in Mexico has never been fully appreciated in France, and so it would be impossible to ask the Corps Législatif for fresh sacrifices in a cause which arouses so much prejudice, and might give rise to the gravest complications.

I am thinking of soon recalling Marshal Bazaine to France and leaving the command of the troops to General Douay.

I renew to Your Majesty the assurances of my sincere friendship.

Napoleon

Tuileries, April 12, 1866

See page 606

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. COPY. MAY 18, 1866

To His Majesty the Emperor of the French

Sir my brother,

I have received your kind letter of April 12 by the hand of Loysel with great pleasure. I thank Your Majesty for the kind reception which you gave that officer, and for being so good as to listen patiently to all he had to say to you in my name. Nothing can be more helpful to the task which we have jointly undertaken than great frankness; small misunderstandings could not fail to arise, owing to the immensity of the ocean; I hope that Loysel has succeeded in enlightening you on the subject, and, for my part, none desires more earnestly than I that the slight clouds which may have gathered may be scattered by a frank and prompt explanation.

Your Majesty appears to believe that I might have contemplated failing to carry out the clauses of the treaty of Miramar. M. César, under-secretary of State for Finance, did indeed show proof last December of the difficulty, if not the impossibility, at that time, of paying France the sums due under the treaty; but these observations were based on political rather than financial considerations, for, then as after, the pacification was making little progress and the proceeds of the customs and taxation were beginning to shrink in an alarming manner. In spite of everything, orders were given for the scrupulous

payment of the monthly amounts fixed by the treaty of Miramar up to June of this year.

I therefore think that it is due to more than a misunderstanding if Your Majesty has been led to think that we have not fulfilled the stipulations of the treaty up to this day; whatever effect these disagreements may have succeeded in producing, I trust that an *entente cordiale* with Your Majesty may enable me to bring to a good issue the work in which we are engaged.

You draw my attention to finance and the army. I am continuing to give my attention to the former, and have hopes of the speedy arrival of a high official who shall carry on the work of the late lamented M. Langlais. As for the army, on the very day that I received Your Majesty's letter I wrote to Marshal Bazaine inviting him to join me at least once a week to discuss military affairs. At these meetings, at which the Minister for War, Commissary-General Friant, and Major Loysel are present, I mean to arrange for the immediate organization of national troops to the number of 20,000 men, the sound formation of mixed corps known as *Cazadores de México,* and the systematic pacification of the country, and to secure the immediate carrying into effect, as an act of urgency, of the measures necessary for achieving these different objects.

I beg Your Majesty to remember me to the Empress and I renew my assurances of sincere friendship.

May 18, 1866

See page 608

THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE TO THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE. MAY 16, 1866

Cuernavaca, May 16, 1866

Madam and very dear sister,

By this time Your Majesty will already have received the letter which I have entrusted to Madame Almonte. None the less I wish to avail myself of this mail to give you news of us again, for I know you read it with interest.

M. Loysel has returned. We thank Your Majesties very much for the kind reception which you gave him. He will have been able to talk to you about many circumstances of which distance had perhaps made it hard for you to judge. What is being said in France also comes back to us from various quarters, and frank explanations are

always an advantage to both parties. I ought therefore to inform Your Majesty that if Baron Saillard did not at once report himself at Cuernavaca, where, in spite of the fact that he was indisposed, the Emperor had summoned him, it was because M. Dano opposed[2] his going there. This circumstance, and the shortness of his visit, naturally meant that he left before being presented to us.

As for the number of laws that have been promulgated in Mexico one after the other, Your Majesty will be so good as to remember that the Emperor Napoleon wrote to the Emperor Maximilian in November 1864 with reference to the state of the country, desiring "to see" the growth of the edifice of which the structure was not yet visible. It was in order to carry this idea into effect that the Mexican Government worked without intermission at creating a body of legislation which is certainly in no way inferior to any existing administrative code, and will one day do honour to the country and those responsible for it.

Another fact has been drawn attention to. Why were we present at the funeral of young Baron Huart and not at that of M. Langlais or of Colonel Tourre? The reason is quite simple. A crime against both the common law and the law of nations had just been committed a few hours from our capital, the immunity of a foreign diplomatic mission was violated by bandits, one of its members, an orderly officer of my brother's and one of our best friends, lay bleeding at our gates. We followed the prompting of our hearts and conformed to the necessity of a public reparation which should strike all Europe, in associating ourselves by a public mark of respect with the reprobation excited by this outrage.

In fact, this mark of genuine sympathy went no little way towards neutralizing to a certain extent the terrible impression which would have spread abroad overseas if no alleviating circumstances had accompanied such a piece of news, especially as the story is going round Mexico City that General Foury had received no escort, because he had not previously called upon the general commanding the garrison.

When Colonel Tourre unhappily met his death in a fire, the Emperor was at Orizaba. M. Loysel informed me of the event during the night. My first thought was to send a message of condolence to the marshal and assure him of our sympathy in this blow which had fallen upon the army. By our orders the principal court functionaries were present at the memorial service for the victims. Later,

[2] Originally: "did not wish him to go there."

when a subscription was opened in memory of them, we contributed a sum of two thousand five hundred francs, which appeared in all the newspapers. After the death of the late lamented M. Langlais, which was a real grief to the Emperor, though the state of his health had made it only too easy to foresee, the ministers and the whole court surrounded his catafalque, and one of the Emperor's aides-de-camp acted as pall-bearer. The Emperor would have been present at the funeral in person, as he sent word to M. Langlais's son and M. Dano, if they had not persisted in celebrating the service in the cathedral, where he did not wish to meet the archbishop and the chapter. M. Huart's had taken place in the chapel adjoining the hospital. Your Majesty will therefore see that those persons who have made comparisons or drawn conclusions from these different events were perhaps not very accurately informed.

I have been spending the last fortnight at Cuernavaca, a charming resort which combines the delights of the tropics with a grateful heat, from which we had been too long cut off by residence on the high plateaux. The Emperor, who has come to join me here, is very fond of Cuernavaca because he can work here more at his ease. It corresponds for him to Plombières or Biarritz. He is having a little Indian chalet built in the village of Acapatzingo, which will be called Olindo, and is surrounded by dense groves of oleanders, orange- and banana-trees, scattered in graceful profusion by the hand of nature.

Internal affairs appear to be satisfactory. Expenditure is reduced to the very lowest possible level without causing the service to suffer. The Vera Cruz railway is progressing; the first stone of the famous viaduct of Metlac, the largest in the New World, has just been laid. The permanent way has been started from both ends, and the part between Mexico and Puebla should be finished shortly.

The *maréchale* is expecting her confinement, which seems to be delayed longer than had been expected; her health however continues to be good!

The Emperor desires me to present his best homage to you. Accept, Madam and very dear sister, the renewed assurance of the heart-felt friendship and unchangeable esteem with which I am

Your Majesty's good sister and friend,

C.

See page 626

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. COPY. MAY 27, 1866

To His Majesty the Emperor of the French

Palace of Mexico, May 27, 1866

Sir my brother,

Your Majesty's generous intentions with regard to facilitating the creation in Mexico of an army capable of safe-guarding the interests which we have at heart to defend were dictated by a profound understanding of the situation.

Unfortunately I am bound to declare to Your Majesty with complete candour that, while assuring me of his entire co-operation, Marshal Bazaine alleges that he is not provided with adequate instructions for offering such advantages to the officers and non-commissioned officers of the expeditionary corps as may enable them to consent to remain another five years in this country — and nothing is done.

And yet the days and months spent in inaction are so many advantages of which we are making a free gift to our enemy.

I therefore write to appeal to Your Majesty's powerful intelligence and friendship, begging that you will read the enclosed memorandum and approve the propositions which it contains, so far as these concern the French army, without which nothing good or lasting can be hoped for.

Now, the whole point is this: with the fifteen thousand men of the legions organized according to my plan, the eight Franco-Mexican battalions and the national army organized as proposed in the enclosed memorandum, all safe-guards are provided, and we shall not see a repetition of the horrible scene of Hermosillo. This deplorable event has affected me as grievously as it can have done Your Majesty, and will prove to you how inaccurate it is to say that the pacification is complete.

The return of Juarez to Chihuahua is a pretext of which the United States are taking advantage to cause us embarrassment.

To put a stop to their exigencies, I have just sent word to Marshal Bazaine to reoccupy this town, which he had evacuated twice in spite of my express intentions.

The official Gazette which Your Majesty will find enclosed will inform you of the great financial reforms and important economies that we have effected.

For the first time Mexico is witnessing the publication of her budget, and I may add that this budget would be less than the whole expenditure of the former Mexican Republic if the war were not still swallowing up the greater part of our resources.

I have had the pleasure of conferring upon Monsieur Dano the honour of the Grand Cross of the order of Guadalupe, for I have cause for nothing but congratulation upon our mutual relations.

I hope that Your Majesty will be convinced that I have omitted nothing that may prove my firm resolution to do honour to my alliance with you; it rests with you to destroy the last obstacles. Begging you to present to Her Majesty the Empress the homage of my cordial attachment, I renew my assurance of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's good brother

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON TO THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. MAY 30, 1866

Sir my brother,

General Almonte has acquainted me with Your Majesty's ideas, and I was already aware from the memorandum handed me by M. Bonard of the full discrepancy existing between my judgment and yours. In order to clear up all the questions at issue once and for all, I have caused a note to be drawn up which I recommend to Your Majesty's serious consideration, and I beg you to be assured of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's good brother,

Napoleon.

Paris, May 30, 1866

See pages 608 and 613

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE TO THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE, MAY 30, 1866

Madam and very dear sister,

I have received the letter which Your Majesty entrusted to Madame Almonte for me; I need not tell Your Majesty that Monsieur and Madame Almonte will be welcome to us, as sent by the Emperor; besides, they are old acquaintances for whom we have a great esteem.

Since Your Majesty mentions it, I will not conceal the fact that your answer to my letter about the finances of Mexico did indeed cause me pain. If I ventured to touch upon this subject, it was on account of the extreme importance to Your Majesties of husbanding your resources, which are all the more precious since a new loan appeared to me more impossible to obtain in the then condition of the European money-market. But since Your Majesty could do nothing to change matters, I am sorry to have caused you the slightest unpleasantness. May the desire which I felt to speak to you with complete candour serve as my excuse! Anxieties of every sort are weighing upon us in Europe at present.

Your Majesty will see from the newspapers all that is in store for us; may God be pleased to preserve peace, which is so necessary to all! Nowadays all interests are so closely interdependent that the slightest disturbance at one point immediately makes itself felt everywhere.

We have seen the Count of Flanders lately; he spent a few days here. He and the King were both in very good health. The Emperor begs me to remember him to Your Majesty and the Emperor Maximilian.

Be assured, Madam and dear sister, of the feelings with which I am

Your Majesty's affectionate sister and friend,

Eugénie.

Tuileries, May 30, 1866

See page 626

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. INITIALLED DRAFT. JUNE 10, 1866

Palace of Mexico, June 10, 1866

Sir my brother,

I have the pleasure to inform Your Majesty that Marshal Bazaine and I have definitively settled by mutual consent the basis and details of the organization of the Mexican battalions called *cazadores*, which will be commanded and administered by French officers.

Your Majesty will find enclosed a copy of the ordinance signed by us, which meets all reasonable requirements.

I beg you to have the goodness to approve it and to authorize the marshal to induce a certain number of doctors, administrative officers, and armourers to stay in Mexico for another five years, on the same terms as the officers of the *cazadores* battalions, for experience has shown me that what the Mexican army most lacked was good administration and trained cadres.

Begging Your Majesty to remember me and the Empress Charlotte to Her Majesty the Empress, I beg you to be assured of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's good brother,

Maximilian.

See page 631

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. INITIALLED DRAFT. JUNE 29, 1866

Sir my brother,

The reorganization of my army is at last proceeding without interruption, thanks to the activity and zeal of General Osmont, chief of the general staff, and Commissary-General Friant.

These two general officers are constantly bringing to my attention the necessity for asking France for trained cadres to serve as a sound foundation. Your Majesty will find enclosed some documents dealing with this question, and I should be very grateful if you would beg your Minister for War to come to our assistance by sending

us officials of the *Intendance* (Commissariat Department), administrative officers, and officers of special branches of the artillery.

It would also be very desirable to have Generals Brincourt and Garnier return to Mexico; I have had opportunities of judging them, and they have my full confidence, besides having won the sympathy of the country.

My intention would be to entrust the portfolio of the Ministry of War to General Osmont, if Your Majesty saw no objection, and I am impatiently awaiting the arrival of the under-secretaries whom I desired M. Loysel to engage for the Ministries of Justice, Public Instruction, and Commerce.

The meeting of the congress, which is such a striking homage rendered to Your Majesty's exalted wisdom by the whole of Europe, has given me occasion to think that it might perhaps afford you an opportunity of affirming your policy in America by inviting the representatives of the European powers energetically to maintain the principle of their legitimate influence in the New World (and to decline to accept the Monroe Doctrine).[3]

I beg you to remember me to Her Majesty the Empress and to be assured of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's good brother,

Maximilian.

Chapultepec, June 29, 1866

To His Majesty the Emperor of the French

See page 673

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. INITIALLED DRAFT. MEXICO, THE PALACE, JULY 8, 1866

Sir my brother,

I have read with great interest Your Majesty's letter dated May 31 last, and the important memorandum accompanying it. The Empress will hand you the one which I have drawn up, and which deals with the points treated in your own, so as to enable Your Majesty to judge the question in full knowledge of the facts.

[3] Words in parentheses crossed out by the Emperor.

THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE TO THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE. AUGUST 13, 1866

To Her Majesty the Empress of the French

Grand Hotel, Monday, August 13, 1866

Madam and dear sister,

Hoping to find Your Majesty at home, I am writing to say that if the time is convenient to you, I hope to pay you an informal little visit today at half past two. I have a few documents to bring in support of what I said the other day, so that the Emperor may acquaint himself with the situation by tangible proofs. If Your Majesty thought that M. Fould and Marshal Randon could be present somewhere in the château of St. Cloud so that they could be consulted afterwards, I should be boundlessly grateful; for my part, I will bring M. Castille, who knows the finances of Mexico by heart, in order to present him to the Emperor if he is not too tired.

I beg that Your Majesty will tell the Comte del Valle whether the time of my arrival is convenient to you, and I am, with sincere admiration and heart-felt friendship,

Your Majesty's devoted sister and friend,

Charlotte.

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. MEXICO, AUGUST 15, 1866

I avail myself of the greatest scientific triumph of the age to send Your Majesty my most sincere congratulations.

See page 656

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. MEXICO, THE PALACE, AUGUST 28, 1866

Sir my brother,

American companies are applying for a concession for the Tehuantepec canal and railway. They moreover want to colonize six million acres lying along the route. By these concessions I could raise some forty million francs for the needs of my Government. Before arriving at a decision it seemed to me indispensable to consult Your Majesty. Great European and, particularly, French interests are bound up with the possession of Tehuantepec; might it not be placed in French hands on the terms offered? I attach unlimited importance to the concessions, and I beg Your Majesty to tell me what you think about it. I will have negotiations entered into with the American companies if Europe does not desire to open up Tehuantepec as it has opened up the isthmus of Suez. I am

Your Majesty's good brother,

Maximilian.

See page 727

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. PALACE OF MEXICO, SEPTEMBER 27, 1866

Sir my brother,

The existence of the transatlantic cable, by bringing us closer to each other, will enable us to exchange our ideas more expeditiously, and will thus contribute towards the disappearance of all misunderstanding; it is the certainty that I cannot but be the gainer by this more frequent communication with Your Majesty which has suggested to me the idea of sending you a telegraphic code.

I was most satisfied with the zeal and services of General Osmont and Commissary-General Friant; they had already made great progress in the administration of war and finance when Marshal Bazaine intimated to them that he regarded their functions as incompatible with the positions which they occupied in the expeditionary corps, and they found themselves obliged to send in their resignation.

I beg Your Majesty to remember me to the Empress, and to be assured of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's good brother,

Maximilian.

See page 729

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III TO THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. ORIGINAL. AUGUST 29, 1866

Sir my brother,

We had great pleasure in receiving the Empress Charlotte, and yet it was very painful to me to be unable to accede to the requests which she addressed to me. We are, in fact, approaching a decisive moment for Mexico, and it is necessary that Your Majesty should come to a heroic resolution, the time for last measures has gone by. I begin by stating to Your Majesty that it is henceforward *impossible* for me to give Mexico another *écu* or another man. This point being settled, the question is what Your Majesty's course of action will be. Can you maintain yourself by your own strength? Or will you be forced to abdicate? In the former case my troops would remain, as agreed upon, till 1867. In the latter case it would be necessary to take other measures. Your Majesty ought to draw up a manifesto in which you would explain the noble ambition which had led you to accept the mandate offered by a large part of the Mexican people; you would next point out what insurmountable obstacles have forced you to renounce your task. In this case it would be necessary to take advantage of the presence of the French army to summon a representative national body and cause a government to be elected which should offer some guarantee of stability. Your Majesty will understand how painful it is for me to enter into such details, but we can no longer lull ourselves with illusions, and it is necessary that the Mexican question, in so far as it concerns France, should be settled once for all.

I beg Your Majesty to believe that I shall always do all in my power to give proof of the feeling of heart-felt sympathy which I cherish towards you, and to alleviate the sorrow which must of necessity assail you in these trying moments.

I therefore renew to Your Majesty my assurance of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's good brother,

Napoleon.

St. Cloud, August 29, 1866

See page 732

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. OCTOBER 8, 1866

Sir my brother,

I am taking advantage of Commandant Loysel's departure to thank Your Majesty for the kind letter which you wrote me from St. Cloud on August 29 last, and which I received on the 3rd of this month at Cuernavaca.

It is a very pleasant duty to me to express to Your Majesty and the Empress Eugénie my deep gratitude for the kindness with which you were so good as to receive my wife. In a letter which she has just written me she informs me of how touched she was by the sympathetic reception which she met with from Your Majesties. As for the political part of your letter, my conscience does not as yet permit me to give a decisive answer to Your Majesty. My position imposes duties upon me which oblige me to consider maturely the course of action upon which depends the well-being of so many faithful adherents. Whatever future Providence may have in store for me, Your Majesty may always rely upon my most friendly sentiments and my inexpressible attachment. I beg Your Majesty to remember me to the Empress, and to be assured of the sentiments of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's good brother,

Maximilian.

Chapultepec, October 8, 1866

To His Majesty the Emperor of the French

See page 739

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. DRAFT. NOVEMBER 8, 1866

Sir my brother,

At the moment of leaving a country where such hard trials awaited me, and which was to strike a blow at my tenderest affections, I write to recommend to Your Majesty's kindness one of your best officers, Captain Pierron of the Zouaves, who has been head of my secretariate up to the very end.

If my information is correct, M. Pierron passed out of the Military College of St. Cyr first in the list, and discharged the functions of head of the general staff at the engagement of Majoma, where he had his horse killed under him and was himself wounded in the knee. As to his record, he has twice been mentioned in the order of the day.

During the two years which this officer has spent at my side, I have been astonished at his amazing knowledge and rare firmness of character, which neither prosperity nor adversity can move.

I have cause for nothing but congratulation upon his intelligent co-operation and the thoroughness of his attainments in the most varied branches, and it would be peculiarly pleasing to me if the rank of major were conferred upon this man of really exceptional ability.

Begging you to assure Her Majesty the Empress of my respectful attachment, I renew my assurance of the feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am

Your Majesty's good brother,

Maximilian.

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SET UP, ELECTROTYPED, PRINTED
AND BOUND BY
THE PLIMPTON PRESS, NORWOOD, MASS.
PAPER MANUFACTURED
BY THE TICONDEROGA PULP AND PAPER CO.,
TICONDEROGA, N.Y.



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